Is Big Business Bad Business?—*Charles E. Noyes*

THE *Nation*

A.N.C.

August 6, 1949

The Vatican's Stake in Cardinal Mindszenty

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

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There Is a Break

The Dawn of Civil Rights in the South

BY AUBREY WILLIAMS

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No Heroes, No Hero Worship

A Report on the French Socialists

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE NATION cannot repair the loss suffered by the death of Mr. Justice Frank Murphy. Though he was not a distinguished legal scholar and had had little previous experience on the bench, Mr. Murphy brought to the Court a deep concern for American freedom and the little man which made him the chief bulwark of civil liberties. His quality had been shown when, as Governor of Michigan during the sit-down strikes which at long last succeeded in organizing the automobile industry for genuine collective bargaining, he refused to employ force to oust the strikers. Though their action was of questionable legality, the workers had been driven to it by their employers' defiance of the law. In this and subsequent actions, Mr. Murphy showed that when the spirit and the letter of the law were inconsistent, he placed a higher value on the spirit. Unfortunately Tom Clark seems to be weak exactly where Frank Murphy was strong, and has no other qualifications for nomination to our highest tribunal which his predecessor lacked. As Attorney General his actions have often appeared narrow and arbitrary, showing more the mood of the vengeful prosecutor than of the liberal statesman. It is particularly desirable to have seasoned liberals both on the bench and in the Department of Justice in these days when the secret police of the department are instructed by Congress not merely to catch law violators but to pry into the opinions, associations, and private affairs of millions of citizens who hold or may be under consideration for jobs in government, universities, or industries. Whether or not Mr. Clark did his best to curb the terrorization and injustice which the loyalty check has caused, it has rapidly grown into the most insidious internal menace to American freedom—a thousand times more dangerous than the perils it was designed to avert. We do not know whether President Truman gave this mattter the consideration it deserves when he decided on the appointment of Senator J. Howard McGrath as Attorney General, but we fervently hope so.

✶

THE FISCAL YEAR OF THE UNITED STATES ended June 30, yet the Senate still bumbles along without having passed a half dozen important appropriation bills. The fiscal year of E. C. A. ended last spring, yet the appropriation bill for it, at last on the floor for debate, has had to be sent back to the Appropriations Committee on technical grounds for redrafting. What caused this delay was even more humiliating than the delay itself—an attempt by a Senator to tie up a large part of the money so that Europeans would have to buy American crop surpluses which Europeans may not need. This is exactly what Uncle Joe and his minions have been saying, in season and out, was our motive in adopting the Marshall Plan. Fortunately the Senate defeated this amendment, but in doing so managed to get its clumsy feet tied up in its own rules. We're sorry if we can't show proper respect for "the greatest deliberative body in the world," but we will admit that its tempo is deliberate. The speed of thought, and of speech, on Capitol Hill has not kept pace with that of the world. Indeed, it seems to be considerably slower that it was when Senators had to travel to their sessions on horseback over muddy roads, or when Andrew Jackson fought and won the Battle of New Orleans because he had not yet heard the war was over.

✶

AS MISS KIRCHWEY NOTES ON ANOTHER page, American politicians and editors are much given to telling the British Government that its troubles arise from "socialism" and can be surmounted by a speedy return to the good old free enterprise system. They assume that Mr. Attlee's Cabinet sticks to its guns out of pure doctrinaire obstinacy and take no account of the fact that it was elected by the British people on a socialist program. It would be well if such American critics were to study carefully the newly published policy statement of the British Tory Party. That is, of course, a somewhat schizophrenic document: it has to be to reconcile the property interests of the upper-class groups which dominate the Tory Party with proposals of real popular appeal. On questions of public ownership it is, naturally, "sound." The Tories will not nationalize any industries and will attempt to denationalize the few that are susceptible to this treatment. But nationalization is only part, and perhaps not a major part, of the socialist foundations which have been so much strengthened in Britain in the past five years. To wreck those foundations it would be necessary to scrap economic planning, to discard the principle of "fair shares," and to reverse a fiscal program which has brought about a vast redistribution of income. On such matters the Tories are under-

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standably cautious. They make no promises suggesting a return to the free market. They propose to retain rationing and price controls of "prime necessities" so long as scarcities continue, to give British farmers guaranteed prices and priority in the home market, and to foster imperial trade by bilateral methods. Nor do they suggest stifling the Welfare State: that, they claim, is as much their child as it is Labor's and they declare their intention to nourish it.

*

HOW THIS PROGRAM CAN BE SQUARED WITH further promises to cut expenditure drastically and reduce taxes, is another matter. Labor spokesmen, seizing on this discrepancy, have questioned the sincerity of the Tories' pose as ardent social reformers and have suggested that if they did win the next election they would forget their pledges to the workers and concentrate on improving conditions for property owners. Perhaps they would, but we doubt if they would dare retreat far enough to satisfy American Tories. After all they would have to face the electors again in not more than five years. The fact is that no British party can afford to adopt or follow a really reactionary program today: if it did, it would not stand a chance at the polls. Americans who lecture Britain ought to appreciate this situation. They only appear foolish when they talk as if the Labor Government were imposing socialism on the British people. Britain, we must tell them, is a democracy and, if it is fast becoming a social democracy, it is because a majority of the British people want just that.

*

THERE IS PROBABLY NO PERSON IN THE United States outside of a mental hospital who thinks Philip Murray is a member of the Communist Party; yet Philip Murray has eventually been obliged to swear that he is not a member in order that the men he leads may have their bargaining rights recognized under the Taft-Hartley act. Mr. Murray has had to sacrifice his democratic principles in order to make this concession in the interest of his union; does anybody suppose his loyalty to his country is increased one iota by this act? Enforced oaths of loyalty are an insult to truly loyal labor leaders, teachers, and all others who have to take them; loyalty is something spontaneously given, not instilled by law. All the Tafts and Hartleys in the world cannot make a single citizen more loyal that he is; conceivably they might make him less so. This business of oaths is childish nonsense, repugnant to the conscience of independent Americans who understand that the essence of Americanism is hatred of enforced subservience. The very reason communism is abhorred is that it compels subordination of personal choice to police methods in thought and act. When, if ever, we become a people who obey simply because the power of the state compels us

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to do so, when we curb our minds and behavior because of fear of secret agents and denunciations, we shall have become suitable material for Communist—or fascist—terror.

*

THE HONOLULU DOCKWORKERS' STRIKE, now three months old, presents a curious situation. The seven struck stevedoring companies and the Honolulu Employers' Council state that they have no criticism of President Truman's non-intervention. They also deliberately repudiate the inflammatory appeals for federal intervention made by the Honolulu *Advertiser*. Equally interesting is the fact that spokesmen for the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union have openly requested that "communism" be made one of the issues to be investigated by Governor Ingram M. Stainback's fact-finding committee. The employer groups, on the contrary, insist that "communism" has nothing to do with the issues of the strike. This amazing reversal of roles is related to the peculiar situation in the islands. The I. L. W. U. claims 19,000 members among the sugar workers and 7,000 among the pineapple workers. These 26,000 plantation workers, plus the 2,000 dockworkers, represent two-thirds of the union membership in the islands. Through families of union members, the I. L. W. U. can claim to influence almost one-third of the islands' population of 533,000. Then, too, most of the members of the I. L. W. U. belong to one or another of the islands' racial minorities and the union issue has racial overtones. For these reasons, the employers are reluctant to break the strike by methods which might permanently alienate a large section of the islands' population. Although they are not anxious to have the Federal government intervene, the Honolulu employers obviously do not object to the timely harassment of Harry Bridges whose tactical ability is highly respected.

*

THE ARMY'S CLEAR REFUSAL TO COMPLY with the directives of Executive Order 9981, calling for equality of opportunity and treatment, regardless of color or creed, in the armed services, is interesting on two counts: first, because it asserts the novel proposition that the President is not the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces; and, second, because of the curious sociological reasoning on which its refusal is based. Briefly stated, the army's position is that it will change its policies when the nation, as a whole, changes its thinking. To justify its policies, the army offers various samplings of public opinion. The inference is that institutional practices merely reflect popular attitudes. Change the attitudes, the argument runs, and the practices will automatically change; but a change in practice will have no effect on attitudes. This static conception of the relation between institutional practices and the mores of the community is perhaps the oldest and shabbiest rationalization against all forms of social change; it is do-nothingism raised to the level of social philosophy. But General Omar Bradley to the contrary, the mores are not extra-human pressures, like the weight of the atmosphere or the pull of gravity; they are not something external to the will and wishes of men. Men change their wishes and sentiments in response to what other men do and in response to what they themselves do and the experiences in which they participate. By refusing to comply with the directive the army is not merely upholding the status quo: it is clearly arresting social progress. On the army's theory, the British were acting in an "un-democratic" manner when they suppressed headhunting and similar customs, all supported by a "majority" opinion, in certain of their colonies.

Behind Britain's Crisis

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE very brief hiatus between the recent London meeting of the Commonwealth finance ministers and the coming economic discussions in Washington might well be used by Americans to try to find out what the "British economic crisis" is all about. For obviously it is a complex illness affecting the whole organism of the Western countries, rather than a limited, technical matter of dollar balances, that now faces the citizens of these democracies. And the cure will not be found in the primitive remedies prescribed by the *Wall Street Journal*, to which we referred in our issue of July 23, or in the advice of the Washington financial newsletter which charged in a recent issue: "It is the new economics, or socialism, that has broken down, with Britain as the prime example, and only American money, until now, has prevented recognition of the fact." This letter went on to suggest that hope lies in the overthrow of the Labor government. "...There is an expectation [in Washington] that the Attlee government ... will fall. How soon is another question. There is at least the possibility of a Coalition Government. Were Churchill to head it, his popularity might induce Washington to favor concessions and grants that London could not hope otherwise to obtain." (The old 1931 nostrum with a slightly revised label.)

But business organs are not the only sources of this kind of diagnosis and advice. Governor Dewey said the same thing in hardly more subtle language in his speech to the assembled Lions at Madison Square Garden. From his new vantage point as a man who has been all the way to Europe and back, the Governor spoke stern words about nations "resisting the economic unity without which I do not believe Europe can survive." No one would challenge the need for unity. But Mr. Dewey's further comment shows that his opinion of what stands

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in the way of it is little different from that of the authorities quoted above:

> ...It is to be hoped that from now on Marshall Plan money will be used primarily to help nations which are willing to help themselves by cooperating in bringing about a united Europe. We have made enormous sacrifices in the cause of peace. We are entitled to know that no doctrinaire group can sacrifice the peace either to pet projects of socialism or nationalism.

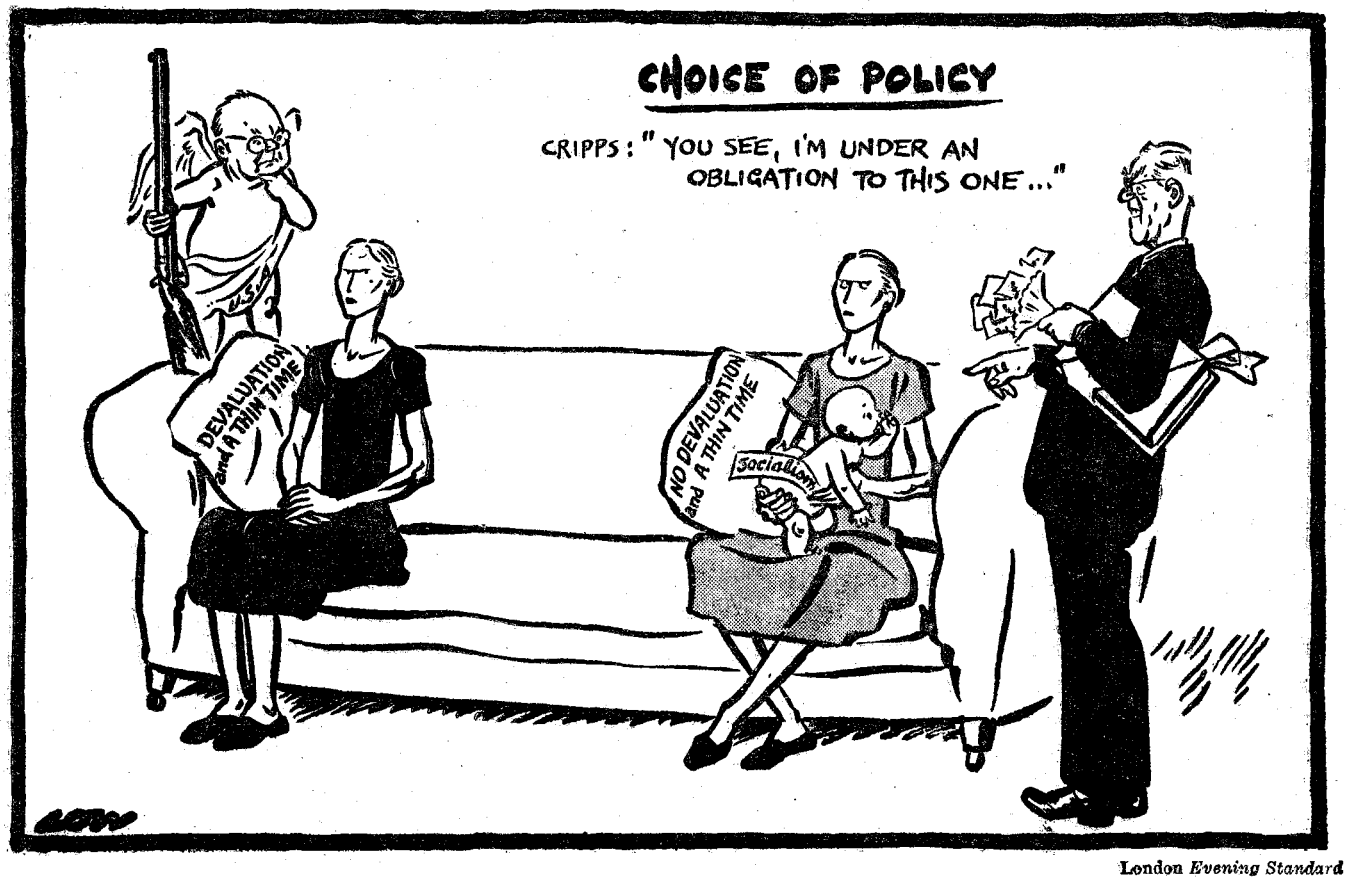
To this bland simplification objections were raised even by people who agree with the governor "that socialistic planning is nationalistic and an obstacle to unification." Those words are from Walter Lippmann, who vigorously assailed the Dewey statement not for its fundamental principles but for its reckless advocacy of intervention in the affairs of Britain and its failure to examine the whole problem of unification. On the first point Mr. Lippmann said crisply:

> If responsible Americans are now going to demand that a British government be turned out on the threat of hunger and unemployment, it will not be easy to convince the Socialist masses of the European continent that our motives are as disinterested and as constructive as, thus far, they have undoubtedly been.

On the second point the Lippmann comment is worth quoting at some length, for it digs under the Dewey diagnosis to a few of the basic factors in the illness of which Britain's "dollar crisis" is only a symptom.

> Thus he [Dewey] speaks about making "Western Europe into one large area for the free exchange of goods and services like the United States." Let Mr. Dewey name the countries which belong to "Western Europe." I suppose he would include Western Germany up to the Elbe River. If he will then study this "area," he will soon discover that it in no way resembles the United States. For unlike the United States it does not contain the farmlands to feed itself or the main raw materials for its industries.
>
> "Western Europe," unlike the United States, is not a balanced and approximately self-sufficient economic area. It is dependent upon imports for which it must pay with the exports of its industry. If the United States were limited to the area north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, if all the South and all the West were foreign territory, the situation would be something like "Western Europe."
>
> They are not partners but within Western Europe as such they are rivals. Each requires the same kinds of imports. Each offers the same kinds of exports. They could be brought together only in an area which was economically much more diversified than is Western Europe. That may not happen in our time.

What Governor Dewey might have liked to say had he really come to grips with the problem has been said with impressive force and clarity by the *Economist*, Britain's most authoritative advocate of a "free" economy. Highly critical of the Cripps position, the *Economist* regards the stopgap bi-lateral agreements made by the Labor government, and its decision to purchase outside the dollar area, as merely postponing an inevitable day of reckoning. It, too, attacks the government's "social-


CHOICE OF POLICY
CRIPPS: "YOU SEE, I'M UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO THIS ONE..."
U.S.A.
DEVALUATION and A THIN TIME
NO DEVALUATION and A THIN TIME
Socialism

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ism" and deplores the "tendency among some of the left-wing partisans" to blame the crisis on the American economic recession—which it denies is a factor of any importance. ("If British socialism cannot adjust itself to as minor a quaver as this, then it is too delicate for the real world.") Put very briefly, what the *Economist* advocates is a policy aimed at reducing the costs of production to the point where Britain can again sell in the world markets on a competitive basis. It agrees that this will call for new doses of austerity, but insists that the British people will accept such a regimen if they are convinced "that it forms part of a fresh policy which has a real hope of working." What would that policy be like? The *Economist* outlines it in plain terms:

> It would aim at creating the greatest possible measure of competitive conditions in every sort of industry and market. . . . It would show the way itself by cutting the biggest item in national costs, the burden of taxation, since it is absurd to hold that a budget of £3,300 million cannot be slashed if there is a will to do it. Wherever it possibly could—outside a narrow range of strict necessaries—it would remove controls and allocation quotas and allow prices to be determined competitively. In every possible way, it would make business men once again work for their livings. It would abandon the cheap money fetish and let interest rates also find their level. It would bring in legislation against all forms of restrictive practice. It would insist on payment by results in every industry where such a scheme could possibly be introduced. And if there were no other way of persuading the unions and their members to give value for money, it would welcome the therapeutic effect of a moderate degree of unemployment.
>
> All this, of course, would be very reactionary. But it would get costs down. And nobody has any other, and equally effective, program for achieving this essential object. Yet, if costs are not got down, much more dreadful things than these will happen—very soon now. One must hope that the Labor Party will screw up its courage to undertake something of this order—for if anybody else has to do it, there is a risk of serious civil commotion. But by Labor or by others, it must be done.

Even this drastic analysis, however, fails to take note of many new circumstances which have made the old Liberal economics—to which the *Economist* basically adheres—inadequate to the post-war situation. It ignores, though it would not deny, the fact that the colonial underpinnings of Britain's preeminence both in manufacture and trade have largely disappeared, and that no return to free-enterprise methods will restore them. It minimizes the effect of the American recession on American purchases in the sterling area, particularly of rubber, tin, cocoa, diamonds, and wool. It also leaves out of account the effect of Britain's dollar payments to other countries, primarily Belgium and Switzerland, under various monetary agreements, which were the subject of the recent discussions at Annecy. Nor is any attention given to the consequences of the restrictions on trade between Eastern and Western Europe which originated not in London but in Washington, and reflected not economic policy but cold-war strategy.

The one big and easily available outlet for British manufactured goods has been partly blockaded by those restrictions, which serve also to strangle the trade, and thus the economy, of all the other E. R. P. countries. Above all, neither the *Economist* nor the American critics of British policy have given sufficient importance to the part played by American tariffs and others protective trade policies in Britain's and Europe's plight. While we talk multilateral trade and protest bi-lateral agreements and other British devices to keep dollars at home, we maintain tariff barriers against British goods wherever they suit our supposed interests, we allow the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act to expire, and we fail to ratify the charter of the International Trade Organization which we had a major share in drafting. *The Nation* has pointed out these inconsistencies before; they can hardly be omitted from any candid discussion of Anglo-American difficulties.

But perhaps the most important oversight of the various critics of the Labor government has been their failure to recognize the social and political implications of their advice. Walter Lippman caught up Governor Dewey on this aspect of his foolish attack. "Does he want," asked Mr. Lippmann, "the electoral campaign in Britain to be fought, not on the results of the Labor government's policy but on the question of whether the right of the British to choose their own government is for sale to the United States?" For Mr. Dewey's remarks "amount to telling the British people that unless they turn out the Labor government and put in a Conservative government," they should be deprived of Marshall Plan money.

The British do not like to be told what sort of government and what sort of system they should have, as Walter Lippmann explained to Governor Dewey. Moreover the advice itself, whether it comes from Mr. Dewey or Mr. Snyder or the *Economist* or Winston Churchill assumes a willingness on the part of the British people to give up—as they were forced to do in 1931—a large part of the social and economic benefits they have achieved through the Labor government. That this assumption is justified is certainly a question. A repetition of 1931 would be a serious affair in 1949; perhaps more serious than an incoming Conservative or Coalition government would care to deal with. And it would mean, without any question, an immense rise in anti-American feeling with correspondingly increased sympathy for the Eastern nations which have also felt American economic pressure applied politically.

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The Vatican and Mindszenty

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

IN the Roman Catholic churches of America, the case of Cardinal Mindszenty is told and retold to the faithful every Sunday. A collection of documents, "Cardinal Mindszenty Speaks," published at an attractively low price, has received extensive publicity. The Assembly of the United Nations, unmoved by millions of analogous incidents elsewhere, debated the case during its recent session and will take it up again this coming fall unless negotiations—which are surely going on behind the scenes—in the meantime effect the release of the Cardinal.

To understand this campaign, one must understand that until comparatively recent times, in most European countries Roman Catholic clergy enjoyed the so-called *privilegium fori* which provides that priests should be tried only by their ecclesiastical superiors, never by secular judges. The church clung tenaciously to this privilege. It remained in force in Piedmont as late as 1851, and was abolished then only after a bitter struggle between clericals and liberals. Elsewhere in Europe similar clashes marked the ending of this special treatment.

Today the Vatican no longer claims the *privilegium fori* in its primitive form. The 1917 Code of Canon Law does state that clergymen may only be summoned to appear before ecclesiastical courts, but qualifies the statute by adding, "unless otherwise locally provided by legitimate rules"—that is to say, rules accepted as legitimate by the Vatican. Despite the implied relaxation of the rule, cardinals and bishops still require papal permission before appearing in a secular court to answer charges relating to their activities as religious leaders. Clergymen of lesser rank must receive permission from their bishop; if, however, "they are convened without the aforesaid permission, they, to avoid greater evils, are allowed to appear." So although the medieval theory has been softened through compromise, the Vatican's aim is always and everywhere the same: to keep or reestablish the *privilegium fori* to the greatest extent possible.

In the Italian Concordat of 1929, for instance, there was embodied the principle of canon law by which consent of the ecclesiastical authorities had to be secured before trying a cleric on a criminal charge. (Civil cases were not thus privileged; debts had to be paid.) Moreover the accused was to be "treated with the respect due his clerical status" and in the event of conviction he was to be accorded quarters separate from those allotted to laymen. One would think that a convicted priest should be more severely punished than a layman; for the priest commits a crime while claiming, by God's dispensation, a monopoly on instructing others in morality.

Another example: In June, 1945, a Catholic priest was to be tried before the Longton Bench in England on a charge of assaulting a thirteen-year-old boy. The rector of the Longton Catholic church remarked to the clerk of the court, also a Catholic, how harmful such a case was to the church. On the day of the trial, the case was called an hour before the usual starting time. No witnesses for the prosecution had been told to attend. For that matter, there was present no attorney for the prosecution. The only member of the public present was an abbot, the accused priest's superior. In short, it was a most peculiar gathering. The defendant pleaded guilty. Two magistrates heard the case, one of them a Catholic, the other a Protestant evidently unaware of what was going on. The defendant received a nominal fine, and that was all. The Lord of Appeal who made inquiry into the case concluded that the court clerk's decision to get the case disposed of as quietly as possible could "only be attributable to the fact that the accused was a priest of his church" (London *Times,* July 8, 14, 28, 1925). It would seem that a court official, and possibly even a judge, of Catholic faith dealing with a defendant entitled under canon law to the *privilegium fori* follows canon rather than secular rules if he can do so without running the risk of "greater evil."

When Father Tiso, former head of the pro-Nazi government in Slovakia, was hanged for high treason against the republic of Czechoslovakia, the *Osservatore Romano* stated that Catholics "were pained by the lack of any consideration for his priestly character" (New York *Times,* April 20, 1947). Just what did this mean? That Father Tiso should have been shot rather than hanged? Shot from the front rather than from the rear? Sent to do penance in a monastery rather than face execution?

THE degree of leniency claimed by ecclesiastical authorities for "priestly character" varies from one case to another, and depends on the amount of resistance their request may encounter from the secular authorities. In the case of Father Tiso the Vatican was surely unable either directly or indirectly to exert any pressure on the government of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the *Osservatore Romano* had to confine itself to restating the canonical doctrine of the respect due to "priestly character." When the Vatican thinks it can get more, it demands

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more. When the situation is difficult it contents itself with less. But the principle is always fought for.

THE cases of Cardinal Mindszenty, condemned to life-imprisonment in Hungary, and Archbishop Stepinac, condemned to eighteen years of imprisonment in Yugoslavia in 1948, are different from that of Father Tiso. Stepinac and Mindszenty had to answer for activities much less blatant than those of Father Tiso. But a cool examination of the evidence presented by the prosecution against them—as reported in the newspapers—leads to the opinion that they were condemned for political activities and not for any activities connected with their religious office. The charge that the Cardinal was engaged in activities connected with a Hapsburg restoration seems substantiated beyond any doubt. The Cardinal himself had to admit it. This was a political and not a religious affair, unless one maintains that any act whatsoever of a Catholic prelate is, by virtue of his being a prelate, a religious affair. If the sentence was imposed for a political crime, protests on the ground of religious liberty have no validity except as a basis for reestablishing the *privilegium fori.*

There does not, however, exist any certainty that the evidence against the two prelates was gathered and presented with all the guarantees which in a free regime are deemed indispensable to the protection of defendants. And even if the two prelates were actually responsible for the political activities for which they were sentenced, one is nevertheless in duty bound to protest against a totalitarian regime which condemns as criminal, activities which are perfectly legal in free countries. Under the French Republic nobody ever thought of trying those French citizens who worked for the restoration of the Bourbons, the Orleans, the Bonapartes. In Italy today, nobody thinks of sending the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Ascalesi, to jail, because he campaigned for a restoration of the monarchy.

Confronted with the trials of the two prelates, the Vatican did not explicitly affirm the canonical doctrine of the *privilegium fori.* Nor did it protest in the name of liberal principles when its political opponents were jailed and killed by the fascist regimes of Mussolini and Franco. The Vatican's recent protests, echoed by Catholics throughout the world, were based on its claim that the two prelates were sentenced for reasons which were not political but religious.

Along with the two prelates, a number of Hungarian aymen were also tried and sentenced. In the fate of hose laymen, some of whom behaved with great dignity nd courage, the Vatican shows no interest. Catholic aymen also show no interest. They showed no concern ver the Lutheran bishop, Lajos Ordnes, who was sen-nced in Hungary in 1948 on charges analogous to those which Cardinal Mindszenty had to answer, nor in the Protestant ministers who were condemned in Bulgaria for much the same reasons. For these, the *privilegium fori* is not applicable.

If the Vatican ever obtains the release of the Cardinal through the United Nations, it will have succeeded in affirming *de facto*, if not *de jure*, the principle of the *privilegium fori.* And the *de facto* privilege would become a privilege *de jure* wherever and whenever the Vatican could obtain acceptance of the canonical doctrine in its entirety instead of accepting compromises.

Gaetano Salvemini

Yesterday in the Stepinac case, and today in the Mindszenty case, five different groups of people are vocal:

1. Catholics who protest *solely* because high prelates of the church are involved. They would protest even if there were irrefutable proof of political guilt punishable under the laws of the freest of regimes. According to this group, secular judges should never have jurisdiction over bishops, archbishops, and cardinals.

2. Protestants who protest *also* against the sentences passed on the Protestant ministers in Bulgaria. They are not claiming the *privilegium fori* but, seeing Catholics agitate in behalf of their cardinal, they do not wish to do less for Protestant churchmen, although they may never have voiced a protest when thousands of laymen were condemned for the same reasons and by the same procedure.

3. All those who are concerned only with carrying on the "cold war" against the Communists. They protest solely because the sentences were pronounced under a Communist regime; they have never protested and would never protest if similar sentences were imposed by a totalitarian regime which was not Communist but fascist.

4. Communists, fellow-travelers, and useful idiots. They have no need to scrutinize either evidence or procedure. Whatever a Communist government does is well done, and every sentence pronounced by a Communist court is just.

5. Those who have always denied the validity of any sentence rendered by the courts of *totalitarian* regimes,

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whether Communist or fascist. These people did not wait with their protests for the imprisonment of a cardinal or several Protestant ministers. They believe that under a police state, whatever its complexion, there is no justice for anyone—clergyman, layman, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Mohammedan, or agnostic.

There is little danger that the men and women in this last group—with which the writer associates himself—will join with the Communists and their satellites. But it is to be hoped that they will not allow themselves to become associated, for whatever reason, with any of the other groups. Their good will and good faith should not be exploited by individuals and groups with which they have no shred of political ideology in common.

No Heroes, No Hero Worship

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, July 25

THERE were two very peculiar things about the annual meeting of the French Socialist Congress in Paris during the weekend of July 16. The public galleries of the hall were almost completely empty, and on the large bookstall in the lobby there was a large display of the writings of Kravchenko, General Anders, William Bullitt, Mikolajczyk, and other books describing the horrors of the Communist regime in Russia. Apart from them there were, on the bookstall, a few dusty second-hand copies of Guesde and Jaurès, besides a short booklet of wartime reminiscences by Léon Blum. That was about all. The platform was decorated with a globe and three red arrows—a symbol once fashionable in the Weimar Republic, but which now looked like an historic relic—and with the morose-looking pictures of three very old-fashioned bearded persons, Marx, Guesde and Jaurès. What Marx had to do with it all was hard to say; as for Guesde and Jaurès, the present secretary-general of the French Socialist Party, M. Guy Mollet, frankly explained in a recent speech that, while the French Socialist Party loved and honored their memories, conditions had changed since their day; these conditions had been changed by the appearance of fascism and Bolshevism.

There were no slogans strung across the platform, but dozens of little flags had been pasted on a strip of red calico running round the deserted balcony—flags of all the Socialist parties of the world. There was also a board displaying some more little flags which were those of the member states of COMISCO, the Planning Bureau of the long-dormant Socialist International. Another billboard, also decorated with flags, indicated who all the foreign delegates to the congress were. Many of these guests were refugees from Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, etc. And, across the rue St. Victor, the terrace of the Rotonde de la Mutualité was crowded with lively, gay, beer-drinking, backslapping delegates.

I MENTION all these trivialities because each one is significant in its way. The galleries were not crowded, because, as distinct from the Communists in France, the Socialists do not—least of all in Paris—draw a crowd, and do not stir anybody's imagination. "Nature has been kind to the Communists," one delegate was heard remarking on the terrace of the Rotonde. "They've got their Thorez—what a physique and what a speaker!" The Socialist leaders are aware of it; but Guy Mollet, in his recent report, said it was unhealthy when working class women brought their babies up to *notre Maurice* and were delighted when he kissed them or smiled at them. No hero worship among the French Socialists, and indeed, no heroes. Except—except perhaps old Léon Blum. But he is old, and a sick man, and when he now speaks, as he spoke for ten minutes at this congress, he speaks like an ancient prophet.

And then that bookstall. Could anything be more typical of French socialism today than this frantic anti communism? Communism is the enemy. Communism i the competitor. The Communists are the rogues wh stole away the heart of the French working lass. Th tragedy, *le grand drame,* is that, owing to the Commu nists, the working class is divided. This anti-communist runs right through the whole of the Socialist Party, fro the most reformist of ministers (Moch or Mayer (Ramadier) to the extreme left wing, represented l Marceau Pivert, of the Fédération de la Seine.

Nothing in the world is easier than to be funny abo the French Socialists. Their resistance record was n outstanding; they are now members of a bourgeois coa tion, quite helpless, some of their critics at the congr were saying. And yet, are they, as Americans would s dead from the neck up? That was not my impression af sitting through three days of their discussions.

Many of them have been doing some hard thinki Why are they in the present government? The offi answer is that, since 1947, they have had no other cho Two major events happened that year—the formatior the Cominform, after which the Communists, instead doing their utmost to step up French production,] ceeded to encourage strikes; and, secondly, the birth De Gaulle's R. P. F. It became the sacred duty of Socialists to save what could be saved in the first pla

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the democratic institutions and the freedoms of France. "We had to fight on three fronts;" they now say, "against the Stalinites, against the Gaullists and against poverty." The first two battles they claim to have won. The third one still remains to be won; and in this battle they are admittedly hampered by their coalition colleagues to their right. Unofficially, many Socialists will tell you: "Thank God for De Gaulle; but for him, we should never have been able to enter the bourgeois coalition. But with enemies of the Republic on *both* sides, it was possible. Last year everybody prophesied 'De Gaulle or a Communist victory.' Nobody thinks so any more, thanks to us!"

THERE is much that was criticised at the congress and much of this criticism was voiced even by those supporting the views of the Socialist ministers. Guy Mollet never tired of saying that the party was not satisfied with the government's record in economic matters; the distribution of wealth in France—though today as great, if not greater, than before the war—was much more unfair. Others kept harping on the shortage of state schools, as a result of which a million children would, in a year or two, have no choice but to be sent to religious schools; and this the M. R. P. ministers knew, and would do their best to kill the school-building program.

The Socialist Party heartily disapproved of the government's policy on both Viet Nam and Madagascar. The trial, ending in the death sentence (since commuted) for two Madagascar deputies charged with instigating the rebellion of 1947, had been a miscarriage of justice, and most of the Socialists seemed to be in agreement with M. André Philip that a new trial was essential. As for Viet Nam, a resolution was passed demanding that peace talks with "all the parties concerned, without exception" be started and that the help of the U. N. should be invited. The desire of the majority that the Socialist ministers stay in the government was, however, strong enough to defeat Marceau Pivert's amendment demanding that an ultimatum be presented to the government that it start peace talks in Viet Nam at once, failing which the Socialists would leave the government.

The Communists are screaming just as loudly as the Socialists about the horrors of Madagascar and Viet Nam, but throughout the three days of the Socialist Congress not one single mention was made of Socialists and Communists seeing eye-to-eye on anything. The Communists, despite all the recent "united front" overtures they have been making to both Socialists and left-wing Catholics, cannot be accepted as allies on any account. At least, not until De Gaulle has conquered France. And perhaps not even then.

The official position of the Socialist Congress was that the Communists want to bring De Gaulle into power for reasons best known to Moscow and to the Cominform. But whether or not many Socialists believe that that is really the Communists' intention, there are two major reasons why there will be no alliance with the Communists: one is that the Communists are the formidable obstacle which is preventing the Socialists from "reconquering" the French working class, and the other is that an alliance with the Communists has become "unnatural." This was perhaps best explained by Emmanuel Mounier, editor of the Catholic monthly *Esprit*, who, in reply to Maurice Thorez's overtures, at the recent Montreuil congress of the Communists, to himself and to Claude Bourdet of *Combat*, said that past experience had shown only too clearly that the Communists had the unfortunate habit of swallowing their loyal allies as soon as they needed them no longer. Prague, Warsaw, Budapest—all are having serious repercussions in the West. No wonder they sell General Anders on the Socialist bookstall!

BUT, at the same time, the Socialists are rather afraid of being swallowed up by their present bourgeois partners. The membership of the Socialist Party has been declining catastrophically in the last three years, and is now down to 140,000 and except in the most powerful Socialist Federation of France, that of the Nord Department, it is now predominantly *petit bourgeois* in make-up. In some of the smaller federations the active membership has dwindled to nothing. *Le Populaire*, the two-page party organ, is the most decrepit of all the French newspapers, with only 6,000 readers in Paris, and less than 40,000 in the whole of France. In elections the Socialists do fairly well helped by the middle-class parties. But the thought that they are not really a working-class party has become a painful obsession.

The congress was therefore very insistent that the party should "revivify" itself. The first thing to do was to show the world that it was not an obedient tool in the hands of its center and right-wing coalition partners; a resolution was passed making further participation in the government "conditional" and laying down a number of conditions; however, there was a minority which presented a resolution demanding the withdrawal from the government, even at the risk of provoking new elections. This was, of course, defeated.

THE Socialists are beginning to wonder whether they may not, after all, profit from the "Stalinites' unpopularity," an unpopularity which they think is bound to grow. But, as Marceau Pivert pointed out, they can scarcely profit from it, so long as they remain tied to the apron strings of the bourgeois coalition, and so long as they do not develop into a *revolutionary* Socialist party. And one speaker said that it was all very well to tell French workers to "distrust the Communists," but the reply the French worker gives is: "After all, the

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Communists are still the only people who kick up a fuss about my earning 12,000 or 15,000 francs a month." Even so, there was revealed, at this congress, a small new factor, but still a new factor, in the evolution of European socialism: the exploitation of the more distasteful sides of what has come to be called "Stalinism."

Another point, on which there was a great deal of talk, was the internationalism of the French Socialists. A lot was said about the need to revive the Socialist International. All speakers on this subject threw hopeful glances at England, at "our wonderful and admirable sister, the British Labor Party." "If only we, in France, were as powerful as the Labor Party is in England, what a wonderful country we could make of it!" Nonetheless, the French Socialists are not at all satisfied with either the foreign record or the "international socialist" record of the Labor Party. Was it necessary for the British Labor Party to take so feeble a line over Franco Spain?

And why did they not support France over the Ruhr? Finally, what sort of internationalists are they if they insisted in having what is, in effect, the equivalent of the veto in the Council of Europe. In the new Third-force Europe we *must* have some limitation of sovereignty! To the French Socialists the Labor Party are the rich and successful cousins, who are apt to be awfully condescending to the poor Socialist relations in Europe. Yet, when you get down to the level of the provincial Socialist meeting, you will hear them making half-friendly cracks about Cripps and his carrots, and saying at the Café du Commerce (and, in fact, I heard much the same at the Rotonde de la Mutualité)—*"C'est admirable, l'Angleterre. Mais ce n'est pas une vie."*

Is Big Business Bad Business?

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

TRUSTBUSTING has been a liberal crusade for three-quarters of a century, and most Americans who grew up in the progressive tradition still have an automatically suspicious reaction to big business. But some of the opponents of big business today make strange bedfellows, and this apparent agreement on one point leads to a lot of confused thinking.

A new recruit to the ranks of the trustbusters has come recently from an unexpected quarter. Theodore K. Quinn, author of a vigorous pamphlet, "I Quit Monster Business," denouncing big business, has been not only vice president and chairman of the sales committee of General Electric, but also chairman of the board of G. E. Contracts Corporation and a director of several other G. E. subsidiaries. After resigning from General Electric in the mid-thirties, he became president of a leading national advertising agency, and he now heads his own management firm. He is obviously no radical; his opposition to giant corporations is in the liberal classical capitalist tradition, and for that reason his pamphlet offers a useful starting point for a reappraisal of the subject.

When Quinn writes of the effectiveness of big business in stifling competition, he knows from personal experience what he is talking about. For one example, he describes what happened when he was in charge of the division of General Electric which made refrigerators, and General Motors was the principal competitor. As he puts it:

> Those of us in the field in apparent opposition to each other were like the players on a stage enacting parts in scenes managed and produced by men in power behind. On one occasion, we actors got a little out of hand in an argument over prices and methods. We were promptly called to New York before a joint meeting of the top officials of both corporations and the rules laid down by which we thereafter abided . . .

For most products, the crude efforts to corner th market which aroused such bitter public resentment i the latter part of the nineteenth century have long sinc been abandoned. Instead, executives of the big con panies talk about "a fair share of the market" an smaller companies are allowed to exist so long as th do not grow too ambitious. Quinn says, "Hundreds thousands of businesses live, therefore, by sufferance the monsters which could wipe them out at will."

This will not come as a surprise to anyone who h ever considered the subject at all, but the fact that it first-hand experience adds weight to the testimony, a the evidence of refinement in earlier techniques monopoly emphasizes the difficulty of dealing with t problem through anti-trust laws.

The author has a few suggestions for action, none them very startling. In addition to such standard steps forbidding one corporation to acquire the assets of other when merger would be taboo, long advocated Senator O'Mahoney and Senator Kefauver, he would quire federal charters not only for every corporation ercising effective control in any major field, but

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for those which engage in several different types of business, and have offices in many states. Somewhat more novel is his proposal that large corporations be compelled to publish profit-and-loss statements by department and subsidiary, and by lines of business as well as in total, so the public would know when a company used profits from one operation to absorb losses in another—and thus presumably when it was engaging in unfair competition.

Ultimately, Quinn favors breaking up the biggest corporations into their component parts, arguing that it is neither efficient nor in the public interest to have a single corporation making a vast variety of products from home radios to turbines and locomotive engines, or from nylon to gunpowder and commercial solvents.

THIS is all entirely consistent with the nineteenth-century philosophy of liberal capitalism, which held that a genuine free enterprise system with uninhibited competition would inevitably lead to the greatest prosperity and the greatest good for the greatest number. It should be remembered that conservative economists like Hayek pay at least ardent lipservice to competition and the necessity for curbs on monopoly.

But if we are to move toward the "welfare" or "insurance" state, which many liberals advocate today, the philosophy of trustbusting needs some careful revaluation. Society as a whole has some stakes in the present situation which cannot be lightly brushed aside. Among other things, completely free competition would require a mobility of both labor and capital which is practically unthinkable in 1949. Population shifts mean losses and expense to government as well as to business.

Consider, for example, what it would mean if Kaiser-Frazer in two or three years were able to take over 30 or 40 per cent of the automobile market, and force other companies to curtail operations drastically or go out of business.

The already bad housing situation in the vicinity of the Willow Run plant would become impossible, while houses stood empty in other localities.

New schools, hospitals, fire department stations, and sanitary facilities would have to be built while others went to waste.

Companies which are at least considering an approach toward a guaranteed annual wage would have to give up all thought of it; and even if people did move freely to the place where there were new jobs, the interim cost of unemployment insurance would be staggering.

The list of painful consequences could be expanded almost indefinitely—including the effects on professional men and individuals in the service trades who would have to move and start all over again. Herbert Spencer was willing to accept consequences of this kind as a necessary part of evolution based on survival of the fittest, but it seems probable that most of the people who talk about free competition today have forgotten how ruthless its effects can be.

Of course, there is an alternative idea that the breakup of monopoly and big business could be planned and controlled in such a way as to avoid drastic dislocation of individuals and community facilities. Sir William Beveridge was one of the first to urge that in the present stage of civilization jobs should be taken to people, rather than people to jobs. The idea is not impossible, although it would certainly be difficult in anything but a socialist or semi-socialist state, where state control had reached a point at which big business and monopoly were no longer the same kind of problem.

IN THE United States today, trustbusting regarded as an end in itself is a dangerous emotional indulgence. Certainly a number of things can be done to curb flagrant abuses in big business. Quinn's recommendation that large corporations be required to publish more detailed breakdowns of their financial operations is a worthwhile step toward better understanding of the problem, and some decentralization may be possible without disastrous results.

But it is just plain silly to approach the problem in terms of what we would like the world to be if we could start all over again, or even in terms of an inherited dislike of big business because it is big. The question is what to do about the situation as it actually exists.

Unfortunately, nothing better typifies the contradictory opinions held by people who call themselves liberal and progressive than the variations of belief as to what should be done with big business, from breaking it up to nationalizing it.

Historically, those who favor vigorous prosecution of monopoly and letting competition take its natural course have the best claim to the name of liberal, but they are also farthest from the advocates of more social security, higher minimum wages, stabilized employment, and a steadily rising standard of living. We cannot have it both ways at once. For example, union officials who engage in industry-wide bargaining are essentially illogical if they criticize business on the grounds of size, or if they object to organizations of employers.

Whether the growth of big business was or was not desirable and inevitable in our progress toward the present stage of modified capitalism is largely beside the point. One of the certain things about the structure of the American economy today is that it cannot be radically disturbed at any place without disastrous repercussions almost everywhere else. There are many sound arguments in favor of decentralization—of government, of business, of cities, of control over labor unions and other organizations—but none of the arguments is sound when applied at a single point only, without reference to all of the potential secondary effects.

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There Is a Break

BY AUBREY WILLIAMS

NOT within the memory of its present generation has the South been treated to political utterances so debasing, or to editorial subservience so nearly unanimous, as during the past twelve months.

In the year since President Harry Truman laid before Congress his Civil Rights proposals—labeled by many Southern editors as the "Truman Civil Disturbance Program"—the cause of justice for Negroes has been flaunted and twisted; and many Southerners would have us believe that the President's program has hurt the very people it was designed to help.

That assumption does not square with the facts. I think it is the overwhelming belief in all sectors of progressive and liberal opinion in the South—from the "co-operators with the inevitable" (meaning segregation) to those who go all the way in their stand against repressions and indecencies—that the Truman proposals have done vastly more good than harm. But there are other Southerners, men of good will who are just and decent on all other issues, who shake their heads and say that these proposals have set back for many years the Negro's forward march. These people have lived so long with the sickness of segregation that they had come to accept it as inevitable. The Civil Rights program and the widespread discussion of it have forced them to face up, at least, to what they have been doing. Some, though not all, have rejected the old compromises and thrown aside their previous "realistic" programs. This is one of the great things the President's proposals have accomplished, because for years one of the biggest burdens the Negro had to carry was the advice of his "friends" who insisted that he should not try to go too fast.

What these "friends of the Negro," the "gradualists," would never face up to was the fact that human beings, Negroes included, live more by what other human beings think of them than by the physical conditions in which they pass their lives, that they will put up with almost any sort of conditions provided they are treated as equals in these surroundings, and by the same token no amount "equal but separate" benefits will ever make up for the basic denials of segregation.

SECONDLY, the legislatures of many Southern states —Missouri, Maryland, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, Flordia—made important Civil Rights enactments during the past year.

Both houses of the Missouri legislature passed by a large majority a bill to open all Missouri institutions of college grade to Negroes, whether or not there were institutions for Negroes offering similar courses.

The Maryland lower house of the legislature recently passed a bill to abolish Jim Crowism on public carriers and all public conveniences. This was the first time such a law had been passed by the lower house, though such laws had been passed many times in the past by the Maryland Senate.

The year has seen the University of Arkansas admit a Negro to its medical school. Maryland University opened its graduate school to Negroes; the University of Delaware opened its college courses and graduate school to Negroes; the University of Oklahoma gave silent consent when students broke down barriers which had been erected in its law classes to segregate a Negro admitted under a court order on a segregated basis.

Thirdly, the last year has seen the emergence of four Southern governors who have made clear, clean, and outstanding statements involving some or all of the Civil Rights proposals. Abolition of the poll-tax, anti-lynching legislation, and other measures are being advocated by Folsom of Alabama, McMath of Arkansas, Warren of Florida, and Scott of North Carolina. An even larger number of Southern governors have spoken out against the notorious Ku Klux Klan. For some reason known only to students of behavior, Congressmen and United States Senators have in some cases felt called upon to safeguard the traditions of their region at a lower level of decency than the governors of the same states.

On still another front, juridical triumphs for Negro rights have dealt several stunning blows to entrenched practices. Although the Supreme Court itself has suffered from a sort of internal palsy—giving only jittery support, for example, in the Oklahoma case—the United States District Court in Alabama, with three Alabama-born judges sitting, handed down a straight-from-the-shoulder decision declaring the Boswell Amendment to be what everyone knew it was—a device that was "intended to be and is being used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for franchise on the basis of race or color."

Even more forthright have been the decisions of Federal Judge Waring of South Carolina, who has threatened to jail any officer of the Democratic Party who refused to comply with the court's interdiction of the practice of discrimination against Negroes in registering and voting.

In a decision on March 30, Federal Judge H. Ch

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Ford ruled that the University of Kentucky must open its graduate school to Negroes, and roundly boxed the ears of the authorities who offered as equal arrangements a set of circumstances which required students to travel fifty-two miles a day in order to use laboratory facilities. "There is no use arguing that such a pretense meets the Constitutional requirements of equal opportunity," he said.

The proposals have had still another effect on Southern institutions. The Methodist Church has perhaps gone further than any other major institution in taking stands against discriminatory treatment of Negroes but the Baptists have not been far behind.

A much more solid response, however, is to be found throughout the colleges, in university faculties, in ministerial societies, in teachers' associations, and in medical and dental associations. In at least two states, Alabama and Tennessee, working farmer organizations have gone on record with resolutions supporting the Civil Rights proposals, and farm leaders in both states have publicly stated their position in favor of the Civil Rights program.

Negro leaders have taken a more courageous stand. More of them are stepping forward to participate in the white community. As members of governors' committees or local committees on education or other social issues, their views are being heard. They are increasingly active in encouraging their fellows to register and vote. Throughout the South, in various isolated sections, Negro registration will be found to be going on quietly and in orderly fashion aided by sympathetic whites.

How does the rank-and-file Negro feel about it? Reports from Negroes in groups, openly discussing progress, are revealing. As a South Alabama Negro farmer put it recently: "The white man has more respect for me lately, and so I have more respect for him. Used to be I'd drag back until the whites were all waited on, because I was expected to. Now the other customers and the storekeepers expect me to step right up in line. I can tell you that that's happened just since this all got started, and it makes me feel a lot better all over."

A significant meeting took place late last year at Monticello, Virginia, where leaders of both races from all over the South gathered for a conference on civil rights. More than two hundred white and Negro leaders signed the Declaration of Civil Rights, categorically placing themselves on record against segregation in any manner or form. Conference leaders now plan to make an annual pilgrimage to Monticello, and expect their numbers to increase as other leaders are stirred to action.

BUT lined up on the side, many layers deep, led by responsible and powerful people, are those who are prepared to subject the South and the nation to almost anything rather than accord Negroes the privilege of citizenship

The die-hards have skillfully employed the one-two punch knockout treatment used in prize-fighting. They have led with their left, by saying that the Negro is happy and doesn't want to move in white circles; that more money is being spent on Negro education than on whites; that Negroes must and are being given equal treatment in the courts, in the schools, in transportation, etc. This is a feint.

Aubrey Williams

Then comes the knock-out blow, aimed at those who really insist segregation must go: "This Truman proposal is a deliberate effort at disturbance. The right name for this whole unforgivable impudence is the Truman Civil Disturbance Proposals."

To support this view, war horses old and young of the "Old South," have whipped up all sorts of disturbances of their own. Probably the most notable example is the emergence of the Dixiecrat States Rights Party, which offered Southern reactionaries an opportunity to break with the liberal and progressive wing of the Democratic Party. They have found the Civil Rights issues useful for their purposes. They have been able to fill the minds of great numbers of voters with nonsense about what Truman and the Northerners have in store for the South.

Yet the majority of Southerners, while apparently outraged by Mr. Truman's "disturbance" program, flatly refused to snap up the Dixiecrat bait. This first became evident in the showing the President made in November when he carried all but four Southern states; and though Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina chose Thurmond, Alabama went to the States Righters by default.

The Dixiecrats are on the run. Today, in Alabama, the opinion is general that Gessner McCorvey, Dixiecrat chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, would have great difficulty in being elected even to the office of town constable. The same is true to a lesser

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degree of practically all of the Alabama bolters of the 1948 Philadelphia convention.

In South Carolina, Governor Strom Thurmond has felt it wise to protest mildly the white-supremacy character of the movement which chose him as the standard-bearer. Only Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi and Gessner McCorvey have stuck to their guns, and these two hotheads looked burnt out at the Jackson meeting last May 10, when only 300 showed up as against 6,000 last year.

The Dixiecrats' present strategy is confusing. At the Jackson meeting, they omitted all mention of the Democratic Party, and they appear to have decided to shake loose from the old moorings and organize a States Rights Party. This seems too good to be true, for it has been the devout wish of every liberal in the South that these reactionaries would one day be honest enough to admit that they were out of place in the Democratic Party.

It may be partly charged to the proposals that Southern governors have set out to circumvent the growing realization that segregation in education is uneconomic as well as immoral. Using the tension created by the proposals and drawing upon that school of Southern liberalism which sanctions segregation in the name of necessity, the governors have put together a formidable program of regional segregated schools.

Another unfortunate result of the great debate over the proposals has been a tremendous increase in Negro baiting by politicians many of whom have simply felt that more was expected from them. In the recent filibuster, only four Southerners had the moral stature to support the Barkley ruling—Pepper, Kefauver, Thomas of Oklahoma, and Withers of Kentucky.

But all in all, it has been a hopeful year. Despite the yapping of the politicians and the hysterical echo of the press, despite even the failure of many liberals to do anything but shout "Leave us alone!" there is a break in the South. And one is justified in concluding that this break is a sign that the infamous structure of discrimination and segregation is beginning to crumble.

The Children's War

BY LAWRENCE C. GOLDSMITH

THE United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund has, by grace of Congress, been given another year to continue its life-saving work. But whether it will be able to feed any considerable number of Europe's 20,000,000 hungry children depends on the fund's ability to hurdle official State Department apathy. Holding the dikes of precedent, the department has decided not to allow private gifts to be included under the formula whereby the United States matches foreign contributions. Further, the committee established by the department to "promote" private contributions in this country is restrained by departmental directive from fund raising, in contrast to previous years. "I am not even going to use the word 'campaign,'" says Mrs. Oswald Lord, the committee's chairman.

Even if the Children's Fund were able to overcome these obstacles and care for the physical needs of all 20,000,000 children (fewer than 5,000,000 have been aided to date, despite stretching of funds to the limit), there would still be the enormous problem of restoring the mental health of children suffering from war shock. No one even knows how many children are affected or to what extent. (How does one measure the hopelessness of a child who has lost his entire family?)

Some exploratory work has been done, notably by social workers attached to U. N. R. R. A. and other relief agencies immediately after the war. From the report given by a group of these workers, headed by Miss Louise Pinsky, at the International Congress on Mental Health in London last year, one can gain some glimmering of the job that must be done if the present generation of European children is to be brought back to any semblance of normal mental health.

First and foremost in their findings (and apparent even today) were the emotional effects of starvation, well illustrated by an incident which took place at an U. N. R. R. A. International Children's Center in Bavaria shortly after V-E Day.

Food was actually plentiful at this center for the 250 homeless, "unattached" Allied children there, all of whom had been rescued from concentration camps and forced labor under the Germans. The children were permitted to eat as much as they wanted and were so well satisfied with three large meals and a tea-time daily that they showed little enthusiasm for an additional offer of an evening snack. Yet they persisted in taking pieces of bread from the dining hall and hiding them under their pillows or among their possessions. It was invariably bread that was being saved, not cake, not candy, but bread.

The children were aware that they would continue to be well fed. They understood, too, that the hidden pieces of bread would bring bugs and dirt. They even agreed to monitor themselves. "We understand why it

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should not be done," volunteered a fifteen-year-old boy to the center's director. "But, whatever we do, we can't stop it entirely. You see, when bread has meant so much to you, you just can't do without it. It isn't a question of being hungry. It's just that you've got to have it, *yours*, amid *your* belongings, to nibble when you want a bit, sometimes just to touch." And then he explained how each night, in the concentration camp, he had hugged his one chunk of bread, trying desperately to save some of it against the next day's hunger pangs, but inevitably, on waking the next morning, finding that he had eaten it all.

Starvation had raised bread to an even greater importance than its necessity for physical survival. All a child's emotional longings—for parental love, for identity, for physical pleasure, for gaiety, for a feeling of participation in the world around him—had been forced to seek satisfaction in the simplest of symbols, a chunk of bread.

THIS psychological importance of food was revealed in most of the children cared for by the relief centers, but the intensity of feeling, as with all other problems, varied with the type of experience the child had undergone. The war experiences of these children can be classified into eight major categories:

Concentration camp children: What was most characteristic of these children, who were mainly Jews of various nationalities or Polish Christians, was that they were over twelve years of age upon liberation. The younger ones had been gassed because they had been too small to work, or died because they could not stand up to life in the concentration camps. The Jewish children especially had been systematically starved to the point where they would die, although they were forced to work until then. Most of the children had been separated from their parents. Initially, some children showed a sense of shame at having been in the camps, as if they had committed some crime. (Psychologists say that young children usually blame themselves, rather than adults, when life is unhappy for them.) They were reluctant to talk of their experiences, although none actually minimized the horror.

Children in hiding: In some cases, these children had been taken in by friends, relatives, or charitable institutions. In others, they had survived only by hiding for long periods in caves, cellars and even, in one instance, in an actual fox's hole.

Children in the Underground: U. N. R. R. A. workers uncovered amazing stories of youthful ingenuity and bravery, but these stories were invariably revealed in dull, matter-of-fact tones. One fourteen-year-old boy had led a band of six-to-eight-year-olds who lived in the woods for several weeks and had killed two German soldiers. When it became clear that he could no longer protect the youngsters, the older boy turned them over to a farmer and he himself joined an adult partisan brigade. This boy has since made an excellent adjustment to life in America.

Children in the Germanization program: These children were products of Hitler's plan for building up the German race by adding to it children with acceptable "Aryan" characteristics and origins. They had mainly been taken forcibly from their parents and placed in German homes or convents, where they learned only the German language and culture. When officials of the liberating nations sought to take these children, German nuns frequently refused to accept proof of their non-German parentage and instilled in the children fear that some horrible fate awaited them.

Children deported for slave labor: Many of these children had worked unbelievably long hours under terrible conditions but, like many children in the other groups, they showed no sign of emotion in talking of their sufferings. Some children, especially those who had been members of Scout troops or other youth organizations which the Nazis had shanghaied *en masse* and allowed to stay together, showed few visible signs of deep emotional damage. They were unusually lively in the D. P. camps, demonstrated initiative and a sense of responsibility. Case workers concluded that where early family life—which these children had remembered—had been good, and where they could hope for security by returning to their homes, they were far better able to survive emotional injuries. (It seems likely that this was true also of other displaced children.)

Infiltree children: These Jewish children had previously been in concentration camps, in hiding, or in the underground. They swarmed into Western Germany, organized themselves into bands of Chulutzim or pioneers heading for Israel. Their physical condition was usually poor, but their morale and discipline were excellent. They knew where they were going.

Children born in Germany: These were usually offspring of German fathers and non-German mothers working at forced labor. The parents had not been permitted to marry. Upon liberation, the mothers usually were ashamed to take their children home, and left them with a German family or a German institution. These children were badly undernourished; they had been discriminated against because of their origin. Among the older children, even those who thought they belonged to the family showed almost no emotion at being parted from them.

Army mascots: Children who had been "adopted" by G. I.'s were very proud of their lot. Although soldiers usually could not fulfill promises to find these children's parents or take them to America, the temporary feeling of being wanted by someone, and being of use to someone, gave these boys and girls a much needed emotional lift. Many of them were drawn to the official rehabilita-

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tion centers only by the knowledge that these centers provided their sole hope of tracing their parents.

LONGING to be reunited with their parents was perhaps the only strong, positive emotion which all these various categories of children had in common. Even when children were transported back to their homelands in trains made as attractive as possible—with flowers, banners, and welcoming committees awaiting them—they did not show signs of excitement, so accustomed had they become to disappointments or the dire need to repress all feelings. But when they were informed that their arrival would be broadcast over the radio, they did finally get excited. The broadcast might provide the happy answer to the universal question, "Do you think I can find my parents?"

One of the most damaging of childhood experiences, according to psychologists, is a child's real or fancied fear that he has been rejected by one or both of his parents. This fear may result from actuality, or an involuntary act of the parent such as death, or from an action the parent has taken in the child's best interest. The infant or child mind makes no distinctions. All three conditions arose countless times during the war years. For example, a five-year-old child who saw his mother shot down would feel the incident as desertion on the part of his mother.

Jewish children who had been harbored by Christian families sometimes refused after the war to accept the fact of their Jewish identity. Case workers do not attempt to explain whether this attitude arose largely out of protest against the "desertion" of the parents or out of the prevailing atmosphere of anti-semitism which affected even these Jewish youngsters. Tragic conflicts grew out of this situation.

Another characteristic which many of the displaced children shared was their dependence upon authority and consequent dullness of initiative. They responded automatically to any suggestion of regimentation.

Some children reacted to their war experiences in the opposite manner; they became wanderers, avoiding contact with authority. Joining with those who roamed the roads looking for parents, relatives, or just people from their own villages, were thousands of youngsters who feared remaining in any place too long. It was not always possible to tell whether these children wished to conceal something or whether they were suffering from a restlessness of spirit resulting from an emotional or mental shock. It seemed obvious often that the roaming provided an escape from a reality that was too stern to face.

Those children lived by their wits. They were the ones who resorted to black-marketing, looting, and stealing, as many of them had had to do during the war in order to survive. Indeed, one of the few generalizations that can be made about all children who were torn from their homes during the war was that only the most resourceful survived. Or the luckiest. Those who did not possess nimble wits and sturdy bodies, stout hearts, and a will to live, or good luck, could not endure the lives they were forced to live. Where they could only survive by becoming outlaws, they had to be clever outlaws; but adaptation to such an existence created conflicts in readjusting to normal community life.

Social workers reported abundant examples of a pervasive skepticism not usually found in children. Two twelve-year-old boys who had spent five years in slave labor were escorted back to their homes in Czechoslovakia. During the trip they kept silent; their expressions were stolid. Even when one of the boys was actually reunited with his family, he was apparently still unable to believe it. The second boy broke down and cried. He still did not believe that he, too, would be returned to his parents. Both boys explained that they had been told so many stories in the past by Germans who had moved them on from one place to another, and always the Germans had told lies. This reaction was common, and automatic.

Children who had been subjected to the *Kinderlandverschickung* or Germanization program seemed to cling to the concept of being German only so long as they remained under the influence of the German home or convent where they lived. The fears built up in their minds of the Allied "terrorists" quickly fell away, but they were still depressed and fearful in a general sense. They did not play, at least in the presence of adults. Back with children of their own nationality, they became very hostile to the Germans. They censored one another if they spoke German. Freed from restraint, they often showed remarkable ability to recall their own languages which they hadn't spoken in years.

SOME form of emotional anesthetization seems to have been the most conspicuous aftermath of childhood spent in the midst of war in Europe. In some, it was induced by shock. In others, by necessity in order to survive. A child with two fingers missing calmly explained—after a period of security in a children's center which enabled him to talk of his concentration-camp experiences—that "they cut one finger off to punish me. I cried. They cut the other off. Then I learned not to cry."

A whole generation of children without tears was bred by the war in Europe. Psychologists, teachers, churchmen, social workers, parents—and statesmen—confront an endless task, as this report of Allied experts testifies anew. Instead of providing an excuse to slough off responsibility, the more searching the study the more one realizes the imperativeness of accepting further responsibility. Years of treatment may be needed to erase the effects of war in millions of cases. Only a meager start has been made, and even this is imperiled by lack of

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funds. One of the boys interviewed by a number of the Commission said, "I still don't feel anything. Sometimes I wonder if I can ever feel again." The whole plight of Europe's youngest war casualties, and the whole moral obligation of a humanitarian world, are crystallized in those words.

Il Paradiso

BY ANTHONY BOWER

Florence, Italy, July

THE City of Flowers is, undoubtedly, one of the hardest places in the world to assimilate. Preliminary exploration at a distance is particularly unrewarding, for the place releases, from writers who come here and succumb to its charm, a prose far more flowery (and far less informative) than the Tuscan landscape itself. Mr. Ruskin flounders in a sea of verbiage, Mr. Dickens gets stuck at the bridges, and later and lesser writers either inundate themselves in a purple stream of words or else content themselves with cute anecdotes about the foibles of the local aristocracy. Now the bridges, thanks to the Germans, are down, Mr. Ruskin—and the mandarin style in general—out of favor, the aristocracy no longer able to afford much in the way of foibles; so the visitor is left more or less to his own devices and to Baedeker—which is just as it should be. The massive, sinister *Palazzi*, the narrow, crowded streets, the sudden image that reveals the whole history of the Renaissance and the greatness of its contribution to art, and the subtle contours and coloring of the Tuscan hills can mean many things to many people and it is doubtless best to be left to make one's own discoveries slowly and alone.

But if the tourist can depend on Baedeker and personal taste to deal with the sights, heaven knows where he should turn for information about, and understanding of, the strangely anomalous local inhabitants. Their staggering vitality and obvious delight in life are strange by-products of thousands of years of trials, tribulations, and chronic poverty, their sentimental attachment to animals is almost in direct proportion to their indifference to their fate, and, above all, their political life is one vast contradiction. In the highly industrialized north where one would expect to find the Communist Party firmly entrenched, its power is on the wane; in the barren poverty-stricken south, where conditions have been unchangingly appalling for a thousand years, the church —which thanks to its stubborn resistance to birth-control is partially responsible for things being as they are—still reigns supreme; and it is in the fertile farm land of Tuscany that the Communist Party has really taken root. In any other part of the world a district whose population was predominantly peasant and whose towns depended, to a great extent, on the tourist trade for their prosperity would be ultra-conservative—but not here. Every house in the country villages is smeared with party slogans, fresh Communist posters appear daily on the walls of Florence, and in the last elections Tuscany turned in a Communist vote of over 60 per cent. This can be partly accounted for by the fact that it was here, at the end of the war, that the party concentrated its best organizers with a view, it is said, to cutting the country in two in the event of war, and also partly by the fact that the peasantry is justifiably cynical about the present government's intention of taking any very drastic measures about land reform.

In Tuscany the land is farmed, as it is throughout most of Italy, on a system known as the *mezzadria*. Under this system the ownership of the land remains almost exclusively in the hands of the large landowners for whom the peasants work, not for money but in return for 60 per cent of the produce. The landlord provides all tools and equipment, is responsible for repairs and improvements and for all capital outlays and, probably, economically speaking, this is theoretically as satisfactory a method as could be devised. But it does not satisfy the peasant's urge to own land and, moreover, he can at any time be given a year's notice to quit; and until the government devises some means of effecting at least a modified land reform the party will retain its hold on this part of the country.

HOW strong the hold is, and how hard it would be to loosen it, was demonstrated on the occasion of the recent feast day of SS. Peter and Paul. For centuries this day had been the exclusive preserve of the church, but this year it was chosen, for reasons more or less arbitrary, by the Communist Party as a suitable time for its youth rally. A large parade through the streets of Florence was scheduled to begin at nine-thirty in the morning and by eight o'clock busses from all the neighboring towns and villages began to roll into the city, bringing some 20,000 boys and girls between the ages of seven and twenty-five. Everything was quite beautifully organized. Then, orders came in the unwelcome

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form of instructions to remove the red scarves which, to a man, they were wearing round their necks. There was some hesitation, then loud murmurs, and finally shouts of "Why?" "Because it is an order," answered the peremptory, disembodied voice of the loud-speaker and, promptly, every scarf came off. One wondered what the response would have been if the answer had been the more reasonable and explanatory one of stating that the law in this country forbids the wearing of unauthorized uniforms or insignia. Probably an unending wrangle.

Finally all was ready and the parade moved off. In the vanguard, on a portable platform, was a young girl all in white, an olive branch in her hand, whose precarious progress (with each step taken by her four porters she gave a painful lurch) was brilliantly representational of peace in our time. But this success was hard to repeat and what followed was neither visually very evocative nor intellectually very stimulating. There were children dressed in white with red flowers in their hair, followed by young men and girls dressed for gymnastics, football, bicycling, and even for that undemocratic sport skiing, and there were banners with all kinds of strange devices.

"I Giovani Non Sono Carne da Macello di Truman." . . . "Cannon Fodder for Truman" indeed! and one wondered by what strange process the "Missouri Waltz" had got transposed into martial music. "Italian Youth Will Never Serve as Soldiers for Montgomery" . . . and that, one reflects, probably goes for the Field Marshal too. "No to the Atlantic Pact" and "Down with E. R. P." seemed, economically speaking, a little rash and "Long Live the Gallant Greek Guerrillas" and "Viva the Glorious Partisans of Mao Tse" threw a peculiar sidelight on the local interpretation of world events.

BUT most startling were the pictorial banners. One bearing the caption "American Control, American Oil Company—Shattered Hopes" depicted De Gasperi and Scelba smiling malevolently at a figure of Uncle Sam with dollars dripping from his striped-pants pockets, while a workman and his family hung their heads dejectedly against a background of the newly discovered Italian oil fields. Another headed "Capitalist Sport—Communist Sport" showed an effete foursome languidly patting a tennis ball while, in contrast, a group of male and female Tarzans heartily engaged in a workers' version of the same game. The most charming touch of all, though, was provided by a company of youths with knapsacks bulging with bread, cheese, sausage, and soda-pop who chanted continuously "Oli Ole with De Gasperi no one eats." At a halt in the procession one of the marchers who had been incessantly shouting *"Pace e Lavoro"* replied very patiently to a question about what country, to his mind, is threatening the peace. "America, of course," he answered in the tone usually employed to address particularly dense children. "Everyone knows there's an economic crisis there at the moment, you can even read about it in the papers, and their only way out of that is a war." "But why, if America is planning to turn Europe into a battlefield, does she pour money into European countries?" "To buy mercenaries, of course, she wants a war but she doesn't want to fight it herself." And the parade moved on, leaving one sputtering with arguments that defy condensation.

IF THE private citizen is left to sputter, what official steps are taken to counteract this frame of mind? Well, on the Italian side, there is the church, which has entered the political arena with considerable *éclat*. There are loud-speakers on many church steeples; unctous voices summon the populace to church on the eve of every feast-day; endless repetitions of Gounod's "Ave Maria" rend the air of every country market-place; and ambulatory Virgins pit their strength against the weather bureau in intercessions for rain. The ecclesiastical hold, in a word, is still firm and the same peasants who attend a party meeting will often be seen the next day in church.

The American approach is, as it must be, more roundabout. For those that resist our trump card, the *Piano Marshall,* we still have two up our sleeve. The first is the Hollywood film—not the kind that attempts social realism, but the strictly luxury product about high life on Park Avenue with a plethora of chromium furniture, sleek cars, and sable coats which convinces the poverty-ridden Italian that his dream of an escape to America and eventual triumphant return with several million dollars is realizable; and then there is the United States Information Service, whose activities deserve several pages, but which, in brief, attempts to enchant a rather higher mentality with revelations about our technical advances—films about the wonders of penicillin, the glories of the TVA, and press releases and pamphlets about our democratic processes and our discoveries in the field of scientific farming.

But in a part of the world where contradictions are so commonplace,—where religion combines a rigid adherence to dogma with a content almost blatantly pagan, where an almost crazy disregard for personal safety (they drive like fiends and almost every day sees some ghastly traffic accident) is combined with an attachment to life so passionate that death is simply not believed in, in a Mother World where pregnant women and the Virgin are symbolic of all that is good in life and where women are held in great contempt—it is perhaps best to let things ride. Logic and propaganda can only play a very minor role in the lives of a people whose joy in living can only be accounted for by the fact that they are intoxicated—intoxicated by the golden light, by the landscape, by the beauty of the architechure, and by the fabulously successful conspiracy between nature and man to convince you that you are living in Paradise.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

THE ABYSS OF INNOCENCE

BY ALBERT GUERARD, JR.

THE German statesman, Walther Rathenau, once remarked that America would have no soul "until she consented to plunge into the abyss of suffering and sin." The remark has its merest fragment of truth, of course. For we too have our inherited tragic schism, our dark Melvilles and Faulkners, and our native tradition of puritanism, solitude, and violence. But Rathenau's durable old cliché has been given new currency in 1949, as European intellectuals speculate on the American century. "Will Europe survive America's good intentions and her innocence?"

These questions, with their fragments of truth, are particularly important for us today, as we embark on a new mobilization of spirits—as the voices of the commentators resume their wartime indignation, as our greatest writers are declared "non-exportable," as even the universities are asked to create "a wider area of faith." On the brink of still another effort to publicize the American dream, it is useful to consider the European attitude toward "innocence."

On a personal level, the truly innocent man is unstained by ugly knowledge or experience, and is therefore outraged and unhinged when confronted by life—stubborn dirty life. Through all his years he clings to the illusion that a pure and untouched self lies within, responsible for his deepest impulses. So he still maintains a final faith in the rectitude of all his acts; so he still sees all moral choice in the child's glaring blacks and whites. He will speak, see, and hear no evil; and if he should by chance "stumble" into evil, feels morally obligated to conceal it. Like all of us, the innocent man wants to survive and longs to be trusted and loved. But he must find some moral intention to justify every such impulse. The time inevitably comes when he can no longer distinguish between intention and impulse at all.

No doubt the European intellectual endows us with more of this dangerous innocence than as individuals we actually possess. But it is rather our collective innocence he fears—the rectitude of our foreign policy; our faith in the power of shining words; our quasi-religious desire to be thought virtuous; our belief that all political choices are simple, and that the world is divided into the dark places and the light. We insist on the dramatic *either-or*, but it is precisely beneath such an *either-or* that the European sees himself likely to perish. He may, for instance, find his hope for survival in the emergence of an advanced socialism or non-Soviet communism at some strategic point, whether in China, Yugoslavia, or France. But we dismiss any reasoning of this kind as old-world relativism and apathy. Again, the European is astonished by our need to find (not merely pretend) moral justification for our every political act. He sees our foreign policy move back and forth between the poker table and the lover's couch, the sinister Hollywood lobby and the unctuous Voice of America.

Of the two, the European is perhaps more afraid of the Voice of America; more afraid of our ability to deceive ourselves. A Senator may insist in the same speech that the Atlantic Pact is directed against Russia and that it is not. The European is most of all frightened by the probability that this Senator is no scoundrel; that at both moments he fervently believes what he says. And perhaps this European remembers the innocent OWI broadcasts of the spring of 1944, which said that food would be brought to the continent by the liberating armies. For here too there was no duplicity. The OWI, in its generous enthusiasm of the hour, took it for granted that we would bring food for the starving civilians. The European slogan of 1949—"No more liberations!"—takes on some meaning in this context. There is unlimited danger in a refusal to acknowledge the possibility of political evil. And the only way to control or humanize impulses to power and survival is to recognize that they are impulses to power and survival.

The problem is one which faces the universities directly—those institutions traditionally devoted to seeking the truth rather than to creating areas of faith. The most telling argument in favor of indoctrination is that we have barely entered into a long period of cold war, and that our students will need courage, optimism, and faith to survive this trying experience. The American purpose to bring democracy and plenty to all must be taught in affirmative terms; and the student must be steeled to protect himself against demoralizers, skeptics, irresponsibles. More exactly, his innocence must be preserved; he must be protected from the truth.

For the truth today is a hard truth. Caught up in our unbought destiny and impulse to power, we can no more avoid evil completely than the individual man can avoid it. The intention behind the five-year wheat agreement may be to create international stability or even (in a few generous minds) to bring food to the starving, but the impulse behind it is quite different. And if the universities continue to seek the truth—including the truth about our political impulses—rather than to publicize intentions and create areas of faith? This would involve the real danger of a shrugging surrender to mere process and brute event. But the dangers of an indoctrinated and uncritical idealism are still greater—the danger that a whole generation will lose the capacity to make political choices based on fact rather than publicized illusion; and the final danger of a sudden relapse into mere cynicism, once the political truth is discovered.

There are today—in Russia primarily but very commonly in America also—two levels of truth: the dark actual truth, and the shining expedient truth. And it is still the task of the universities to seek the dark actual truth; it is still their task to demoralize, to qualify, to

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doubt; to destroy easy affirmation; to distinguish between intention and impulse. For only a cool and informed skepticism can protect us against the newspapers and commentators, or against the violent swings in public opinion from realism to generosity and back. The function of a university is to combat docility and inertia, to provide a "fresh current of ideas"—and to acknowledge the truth where it finds it. No doubt the world can be saved only by a positive idealism. But we shall lose everything if we make ourselves and our students believe in the benevolence of our every tactical maneuver.

Notes on an English Journey II.

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE film of the moment in London when I arrived was "Passport to Pimlico" and I was urged to see it because "it's so very English." And so it is—as English as "Sous les Toits de Paris" was French. "Passport" is a spoof on all the ills and inconveniences the British have been heir to these past years. A bomb explodes, after the war, in Pimlico, a section of London. The explosion uncovers treasure in a vault which also contains old deeds showing that Pimlico rightfully belongs to the Duke of Burgundy. British law does not apply, and the fun is on. Ration books and identity cards are torn up the pubs are open at all hours, the black market blooms. Nylons are hawked from push-carts, and goods for export, especially shiny new cars, are sold in the streets.

There is consternation in Whitehall where officials are concerned only with passing the problem on to some other department—one timid bureaucrat wonders plaintively if it couldn't be turned over to the United Nations. The Burgundian question goes to higher and higher levels and there are shots, lifted from newsreels, of Bevin, Churchill, and Attlee, their solemn faces crossed with public smiles, going in and coming out of conferences. Burgundy is declared out of bounds. Public services are withdrawn, the region is shut off by a barrier of barbed wire, and customs inspection is set up. The Burgundians retaliate with a customs inspection of their own—stopping tube trains and other conveyances passing through Pimlico and searching the passengers; meanwhile it rejects Whitehall's demand for surrender. As one woman puts it, "We're British. We'll always be British. That's why we insist on our right to be Burgundians!" The people of London take the side of Pimlico. They organize Bundles for Burgundy; supplies are tossed across the barbed wire barrier and flung in showers from trains.

The Burgundians, meanwhile, having had their fling, begin to be aware of the disadvantages of being cut off from Britain and of being deprived of public services. At last a heat wave, combined with the lack of water, forces them into negotiations. These are long drawn out but end in an honorable compromise. The Burgundians arrange a sumptuous French banquet to celebrate the settlement. "Do you suppose," says one Whitehall official hungrily to another as they make for the feast, "that we'll have more than three courses?" The tables, set outside, are loaded with food and wine. As the party is about to begin a torrential rain falls, the guests run for cover, and an erstwhile Burgundian shouts, "We're back in England!"

The film is very amusing. I have "told the story" at this length because the state of mind it subsumes—the confidence, the resilience and good humor, the community of feeling, and the assumption that Britain will surmount its difficulties—corresponded so well with the British state of mind as I observed it. Since films are not made in a vacuum, "Passport to Pimlico" and the public response to it bore out my strongest single impression—that the psychological health of Britain stands today at a high level. It is also a straw in the wind, I think, that there has been no post-war religious revival in England—a fact which indicates, not necessarily a lack of religious feeling but certainly an absence of the discouragement and despair that usually play a great part in such revivals. As a matter of fact, when I was there the churches were engaged in a campaign—called Mission to London—to stimulate religious interest. For the rest, I can document my impression only by saying that I was surprised as well as impressed and that the impression was so strong that it induced in me a sense of well-being that was not dissipated even by a bad English meal, a London chill, or the stylelessness of British women—all of which can be pretty trying.

I am aware that this impression will appear to be wildly incongruous with the situation of a people condemned to austerity and faced with almost insoluble problems in relation to the rest of the world though it is no more incongruous than the opinion of many competent observers that the people of rich America are ridden with insecurity and fears for the future. And, actually, it is not difficult to cite factors in the British experience of the past ten years which a psychologist would recognize as sufficient to induce the bloom of health that struck me so forcibly.

An old-fashioned Christian would state the case by saying that the British have won peace of mind through sacrifice and suffering. I do not underrate the sacrifice and the suffering, but they are not central—and it is time we got over the morbid idea, which has dogged us for two thousand years that sacrifice and suffering are somehow essential to salvation and in themselves noble. The case as I would state it, briefly and in psychological terms, is that Britain, during and after the war, worked out its fears, old and new, and surmounted them to a degree not achieved by, or granted to, any other nation that I can think of; and that as a result the British, individually and collectively, have gained the strength and self-confidence to confront new threats with equanimity.

WAR IS HELL, and I should not recommend it as a health measure, but assuming that it had to be, Britain entered it and fought it through in circumstances as propitious for the nation's future peace of mind as they were ominous of its immediate physical danger. Its people overcame the fears and vacillations that culminated in Munich when they threw out Chamberlain and demanded war on Hitler. And from then on there was no compromise or collaboration with fascism. As a result Britain was spared not only the humilia-

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tion of surrender and occupation; it was also spared the tragic internal divisions that still plague the politics and weaken the social will of France and other continental countries.

On the other hand, Britain had no chance, to put it mildly, to experience the sidelines frustration of those not actually involved in a conflict in which they are nevertheless deeply implicated. This frustration was common here, and it was not assuaged but was, I dare say, intensified by the awareness that we were providing the material means with which the war was finally won. I am sure that this feeling was one of the several motivating forces in the promulgation and support of the Marshall Plan and I suspect that it will help to keep the dollars rolling into Europe after 1952, though there are other practical and self-serving reasons which should prove even more decisive.

AGAIN, there is the fact that Britain, alone and at bay, successfully withstood for a solid year an array of forces incomparably greater than its own. The effect of this performance on the rest of the world has been registered. The effect on the British themselves of such a demonstration of their endurance and capacity has scarcely been taken into account.

Finally, all of these factors imposed a community of effort which in turn engendered a community of feeling that has played an important part in the British course since the war ended.

When one thinks of Britain one thinks of class—and class consciousness is perhaps more deeply engraved there than in any other Western nation. But family feeling among the people of a small country which is an island as well has likewise always been strong—and this family feeling could not but be greatly intensified during the war years. I should be the last to suggest that this family feeling displaced or destroyed class feeling. On the contrary, it seems to me that class consciousness on both sides of the barriers in England is so firmly set that the class issue there will be as difficult to resolve as the race issue in this country. But it is obvious from the way they talk about the war years that the British were brought into relations with each other as individuals that transcended class distinctions for the moment and left a residue of concern and sympathy—shot through with the moral imperative that has always haunted the British even when its dictates were more honored in the breach than in the observance. This residue of concern has not been dissipated and it has affected the context if not the components of the problem of class.

"You will find," said an English woman I met on the boat going over, "that people are kinder than they used to be." She spoke out of strong feeling, and the remark interested me because it was obviously her way of saying that the experience of the war had given her a new concern for people and because she was a person who, as I had occasion to observe, was very conscious of class and jealous of her own (middling) status. She was not the sort of person I should have expected, in ordinary circumstances, to be a supporter of the Labor government. But she was—because, she said, it had done so much for the poor.

THE MAJORITY won by the Labor Party was mainly due, needless to say, to the working class vote, but I suspect that the community of feeling, human and moral, created by the experience of the war had something to do with the marginal votes that put the Labor Party into power. In every country, during and after any war, there is a surge of community feeling, a period in which all sectors of the population are united and really sincere in a resolve to right old wrongs—it is a form, no doubt, of prayer and thanks for safe deliverance. In this country it usually ends in the awarding of bonuses and pensions to soldiers and sailors. In Britain where, as it happened, the feeling had no time to cool before the first post-war election, it contributed to the victory of a party committed to socialism.

But whether or not the election of the Labor government was the fruit of class war or, as I believe, the result of a much more complicated human and British process, it too was a sign and a promise of high morale—on two counts. It was a decisive act; and it set the country on a fresh and positive course at the very moment of incipient post-war disillusionment and plain weariness when such a tonic was psychologically essential—it might be compared to the post-operative ambulation which is now regarded as far better for the patient than several weeks in bed.

And then there are the concrete measures the Labor government has taken to keep prices down, to prevent unemployment, to see to it that the available goods and services are on the whole fairly shared, to provide housing, to extend medical care to the whole population. And so on.

Whatever one may think of the merits of these measures one must admit that, again, the British, through the agency of the Labor government, took their fears by the horns—the fear of inflation, of unemployment, of social unrest—and surmounted them by decisive action.

In one of his more eloquent war speeches Churchill quoted the lines, "Out of this nettle danger we pluck this flower safety." The lines contain psychological truth as well as poetry, and if we ruin the poetry by substituting the word confidence for safety, it might well be applied to Britain's experience of the past ten years.

BRITAIN may be expected to continue her experiment in democratic socialism—for her behavior in this respect is cut off the same bolt as her behavior during the war. Conservatives in this country cannot be expected to realize this—though they might take a tip from the Conservatives in England who know better than to advocate a return to the free market, in money and in misery, and roundly deny any desire to violate the principle of "fair shares for all." If we have any sense as a nation, we

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will realize that "fair shares for all" is a condition of England's psychological health—as it is also the only real defense, in Britain or any other country, against the blackmail of communism; and we will support Britain's recovery-with-security even if it costs us the price, say, of a few atom bombs or six months of war.

(*A third instalment of these Notes will appear in an early issue..*)

The Great Method

FAITH AND HISTORY. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THE shock that Niebuhr's first publications, two decades ago, administered to American Protestantism is beginning to wear off. Hordes of students flock to his sermons and addresses, often testifying by their bemused concentration that they do not quite follow his dialectical legerdemain, but nevertheless they flock—not only to witness a superb histronic exhibition but to experience the sensation, for three generations virtually denied to members of churches in the "better neighborhoods," of discovering that there really is an intellectual content to Christianity. Gradually it becomes evident—if only by Niebuhr's underscoring the point—that what seemed at first novelty and outrageous paradox was startling only because American Protestantism had lost ttouch with its own creed. In great part Reinhold Niebuhr's role in contemporary intellectual life has been to make possible a fresh and understanding reading of Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Pascal, and the Puritans, in those "liberal and enlightened" circles where such texts had been little appreciated.

Until Niebuhr spoke, Christian doctrine had become for the children of American Protestantism a forbidden book. They may have sneaked off for surreptitious visits to Fundamentalist revival meetings, and there heard shouted something about the sin of man or the grace of God, but in respectable pulpits they heard only cosmic optimism, emergent evolution, ethical complacency, and universal progress. Meanwhile, at least since 1914, the most sensitive and intelligent of them have known, even in their adolescence, "that the facts of contemporary experience are in glaring contradiction to this interpretation of history." They naturally decided that the discourse of the Protestant pulpit was no more than a sociological gobbledygook. Then Niebuhr emerged, a voice crying in a veritable wilderness. They had little way of recognizing that in terms of American history he spoke for a fundamental tradition which, driven underground, was reappearing not only as a dogmatic assertion but also—as it had done in the past, in Puritanism, in Edwards, in Emerson and Bushnell—as a reorientation of the latest science, psychology, and sociology from the "vantage-point of faith."

"Faith and History," based upon Beecher Lectures given at Yale in 1945, is Niebuhr's latest statement of his now familiar theme. Those who have studied "The Nature and Destiny of Man" will find little new, except that recent events have plentifully borne out his prophetic indictment of a culture "which believed in redemption through history," so that his tone is—if this be conceivable—even more aggressive. From the vantage-point of faith Niebuhr can perceive that the opposing modern camps—liberal or Socialist, capitalist or Marxist, individualist or collectivist—share alike the "dubious" conviction "that history is the solution of all human problems," and in their several but equally misguided fashions cling to this fallacy even in the face of "what is true in the modern discovery of historical growth and development." Niebuhr's strategy is again, as before, to confront all forms of secularism with an erudition surpassing their own—with a mastery of history and anthropology, of Marx and Freud—and to use these sciences, as Edwards used Newton and Locke, to show that the scientists and the psychologists do not comprehend their own data. Every blow is aimed not only at secular culture itself but also at those versions of Christianity that attempt to clothe this secular faith in Christian phrases or to maintain dogma by defying the facts of development in nature and in history which modern culture (Darwin, Freud, and Marx) has disclosed. Every thrust disposes simultaneously of John Dewey, liberal Protestantism, and the Vatican. It is, assuredly, one of the most agile and exhilarating intellectual performances of our times.

For the general reader "Faith and History" is possibly the most convenient approach to Niebuhr's theology. It does not, like "The Nature and Destiny of Man," so unmercifully torture the English language. After a little, the most cursory reader of Niebuhr learns to live with paradox; the human lot is a "perennial predicament," and the student is thus excused from attempting premature escapes. Hence it may be permissible to note, from the outside, what increasingly strikes me as the paradox in Niebuhr's actual influence: his theology proves acceptable, even gratifying, to many who make no claims to possessing anything resembling "faith." His rejection of literalism, for example, his onslaught upon the pedantic search for the historical Jesus, his rescue of the "eschatological symbols" from any "particular end in time," have upon some the liberating effect that similar efforts to free Shakespeare from the textual scholars have upon those who simply want to read Shakespeare.

In short, the point of view from which Niebuhr riddles the pretensions of social scientists, from which he exposes the hypocrisy of liberalism or chastens the arrogance of scientific objectivity, may be, as he calls it, the vantage-point of faith, but I encounter scores who comprehend it on wholly naturalistic grounds. The logic of the modern analysis, in innumerable quarters, drives us, without the aid of the Gospels, to a recognition that "both time and history point beyond themselves to a more ultimate source of meaning." The Old Testament does impart, to readers disillusioned with nineteenth-century liberalism, a sense of the profundity of the prophetical insight, without any accompanying persuasion that the prophets were "inspired." Niebuhr's insight is a welcome rebuke to the pomposity of professors, and obviously his own belief in the source of that insight is to him envigorating. But if I may generalize from a limited observation, what many of his admirers have yet to learn from him is why that vantage-point is necessarily or peculiarly or exclusively Christian.

Of course, none of the great apologists ever, at the final point, tries to "prove" Christianity. Only such shallow

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religionists as the eighteenth-century rationalists offer "evidence" that purports geometrically and automatically to vindicate Revelation. The great method, to which Niebuhr adheres, has always been to lead the seeker to the point where, all other explanations having failed, he has only the choice of making the leap—which he must do for himself. One of Niebuhr's strengths has been his scorning to write *contra Gentiles;* he has assumed, as though beyond argument, the "perennially valid truth in the Gospel," and by that light he manfully clarifies the human predicament. My point, to put it bluntly, is that many of his readers and listeners go all the way with his clarification of the predicament, and take courage from his profound comprehension of the tragic import of recent history. They exult in his excoriation of "evolutionary optimism." Yet somehow they find this no reason at all—judging, that is, from his own use of them—for supposing that the Christian Gospels are more than a great construct which man himself has devised for symbolizing the riddle of his existence.

PERRY MILLER

Myth as Art

QUEST FOR MYTH. By Richard Chase. Louisiana State University Press. $3.25.

A LITERARY man can be pardoned, I should think, if not actually commended, for putting literature very near the throne of his kingdom of ends. His claim on the imagination, for which myth is merely a more concrete, determinate name, seems at least as pressing as that of the philosopher, the historian, the anthropologist, and the psychoanalyst. And myth is always a frontier where claims can be staked, although like all frontiers it attracts some fairly rough characters. Richard Chase, in this elegantly and easily written survey of mythical studies from Zeno to Boas and Benedict, is a settler with more personal resources than most and far less superfluous baggage. The book is both delightful and useful, solid and tentative, youthful and full-blown. Human and humanistic.

To grasp his thesis one ought to know something about the modern background Mr. Chase outlines briefly in his introduction a world in which Ortega has announced that science-as-revelation no longer sustains us, in which Heidegger defines philosophy as man-philosophizing and Whitehead has called all Western philosophy a footnote to the greatest of all conscious mythographers, Plato. The ample metaphysical speculations of poets like Shelley, Wordsworth, and Wallace Stevens have defined the imagination expansively, in terms of its ideal successes. Coleridge's semi-naturalistic probings are considerably weakened by the vague romantic metaphysics of culture that Mr. Chase objects to in the whole Germanizing school of myth. The age of formal idealism, to which Coleridge, Shelley, and Wordsworth belonged as surely (and ambiguously) as Dante to the age of Aquinas, is rapidly going out, though Mr. Chase is a bit nostalgic to see it go. He is not, as one critic has already foolishly called him, an "irrationalist." Is a lion-tamer irrational to watch his lion? Some critics tame dogs and call them lions. A good summary of the latest thought on myth can be found in Stanley Hyman's "The Armed Vision" or his forthcoming survey in the *Kenyon Review*. Against Mr. Hyman's nicely ordered but, in a crucial sense, undigested data, Mr. Chase's substantial hold on cultural reality stands out the more admirable. He opts for naturalism and pragmatism in method, for the open, pluralistic view, for Freud and the more imaginative anthropologists. His last chapter takes a handful of poems and shows us myth operating dynamically in high art.

Myth, according to Chase, *is* art, though it may also be *like* philosophy, history, or dream. Which does very well, I think, for its dynamic function. What I question is the subjective idealism (technically speaking) that remains, even and especially in his many bows to the spirit of Dewey. Sometimes Chase implies that philosophy and dogma are merely temperamental, a mere mental hardening of the arteries: the swan is less real than the dynamic poem about the swan: the attractive Audenesque notion of God is more real than the experience of God. I should want to think of myth as in collaboration with dogma and philosophy and unthinkable without, or, as Austin Warren has it in his "Theory of Literature," ". . . poetry cannot for long take the place of religion since it can scarcely long survive it. Religion is the greater mystery; poetry the lesser." Richard Chase, however, is a true steward of the mysteries, no mystagogue.

R. W. FLINT

"Economists and Calculators"

THE ECONOMIC MIND IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. Volume III, 1865-1918. By Joseph Dorfman. The Viking Press. $6.

LESS than five years after Dr. Franklin hailed the rising sun at Philadelphia, Edmund Burke deplored the demise of chivalry at Paris and lamented the ugly birth of a new age of "economists and calculators" in which the glory of Europe would be extinguished forever. That age is now upon us: the glory of Europe extinguished, the American sun high in the heavens, and straining at Apollo's chariot, foremost in the traces, the economists and calculators. The record of the journey, the rise of America and the race of calculators and economists, is the subject of Joseph Dorfman's broad study, "The Economic Mind in American Civilization."

The present volume, covering the period 1865-1918, is the third of a series that will eventually comprise four volumes. Despite the great increase of published economic thought that followed the Civil War, there is no diminution in the scope and detail of Mr. Dorfman's work. Again he has summarized a great body of economic writings. Again he has consulted books, pamphlets, periodicals, monographs, letters, and memoirs with what seems to be indefatigable, almost frightening energy. And again he has ranged widely—including such obvious figures as John Bates Clark and such little-known men

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as Nicholas Johannsen; digesting the heterodoxy of Henry George and the orthodoxy of Irving Fischer. Moreover, he has not limited his searching eye to the American horizon. What is usually termed the European background is here thoroughly discussed. Mr. Dorfman indicates the influence of Jevons on American marginalist economics. He shows the effect of the German historical school on the teachings of Ely and Patten, and he pays Thorstein Veblen's debt to Frederick Lange and the "Back to Kant" school of German philosophy. In addition, Dorfman is well aware of the importance of the domestic background. In four chapters he supplies a general history of those political, economic, and intellectual developments which, as it were, put the questions to the economic thinkers. Truly, the very sweep of his brush entitles Mr. Dorfman to a place near Parrington and Beard in the gallery of historical artists.

To be sure, the attractive, easy bias of Parrington is missing. Mr. Dorfman's mind is not simple, and his book lacks the enthusiastic vigor that simplicity often promotes. Thus, for example, the conclusion of the Veblen chapter, "his free intelligence was fundamentally positive and richly suggestive of new and powerful ideas," is disappointingly mild. Often, too, Mr. Dorfman allows summary to do the work of criticism. The treatment of Henry George is to the point, for George thought he was talking practical politics, and accordingly his work merits more than mere restatement and the meed of an admission that "perhaps 'Progress and Poverty' contributed more than any other work to the growth of an interest in economics."

It would be unfair, however, to even suggest that Mr. Dorfman's book is without a thesis—a mere uncritical accumulation of the recondite. The thesis of course is not obtrusive, but two main points do, nevertheless, assert themselves. First, Mr. Dorfman makes it abundantly clear that the main drift in economic thought has been toward control. The notion of a self-adjusting, untouchable economy, he shows, has been vigorously and consistently attacked on moral and technical grounds. The founders of the American Economic Association hoped that the society would "combat the widespread view that our economic problems will solve themselves." Richard Ely in his preliminary prospectus for the association regarded "the state as an educational and ethical agency whose positive aid is an indispensable condition of human progress." And writing in 1918 Wesley C. Mitchell could state that "one prevalent trait may be mentioned: most writers approve a policy of conscious social control through government agencies."

Second, Mr. Dorfman has shown that in its progress from a speculative to an applied science economics itself has been professionalized, thereby vindicating in its own development the modest proposition that knowledge is useful. Mr. Dorfman notes with approval the increasing use of statistics, the growth of such fact-finding organizations as John Commons's American Bureau of Industrial Research, and the migration of the economist into the fields of government and business. He has a healthy faith in the abilities of the professional, the economists and the calculators. He believes, in other words, in that portentous homily of the prize ring that always puts the odds on the good big man. And he is stating his own position when he quotes Wesley Mitchell's admirable credo: "I decline to discount heavily the dependability of 'wisdom,' and in this I think I am wise. By this I mean that I don't believe that accumulated experience over many years is so safe a guide in managing affairs as objective knowledge, when the latter can be attained." JOSEPH KRAFT

Dilemma in Japan

JAPAN'S ECONOMY IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By Jerome B. Cohen. Institute of Pacific Relations Publications, University of Minnesota Press. $7.50.

NEW PATHS FOR JAPAN. By Harold Wakefield. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

IN THE struggle to achieve Asiatic domination Japan gave the world a fearsome display of its economic potential: This resource poor island economy with little more than the ambition and skill of an industrious people, could yet build a war economy capable of holding the major powers of the world at bay for three and one-half years.

It is this war economy, and its postwar remains, upon which Dr. Cohen, formerly of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey and now at the College of the City of New York, performs an admirably competent economic autopsy. Professor Cohen's central thesis is that Japan's war plan hinged on a sudden, paralyzing attack which would initiate a short war with the United States. Before the American giant could recover from this sudden blow, Japan would negotiate a peace which would insure its control of its war created Co-Prosperity Sphere in the Far East, rich in raw materials, oil, and markets.

Dr. Cohen documents his thesis with a wealth of data from the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. He points out that Japan's gross national production in the first two years of war hardly rose above the 1940 level of forty billion yen. War expenditures in 1942 accounted for about 30 per cent of Japan's total output of goods and services, while in the United States 34 per cent was being devoted to the war effort. Japan's war plan was necessarily based on a short war, for it was primarily dependent upon stocks of reserves; it would be helpless if a long war cut off coal and iron ore from North China and oil and bauxite from the South Pacific islands.

It was not until the beginning of 1943, after the shock of the Guadalcanal defeat, that the "limited program" approach was abandoned. Production sights were lifted, and in 1944 gross output was increased to 125 per cent of the 1941 level. Equally notable, in 1944, war expenditures took half of Japan's total production, as against some 46 per cent in the United States. But the impressive effort of the Japanese people came too late. By the end of 1944 Japan's merchant shipping had been whittled down to less than half the original six million tons. Oil reserves were down 200,000 barrels in April, 1945, with no imports coming in.

More of the plaudits of war, therefore, should have gone to the boys who traveled the deep blue below rather than the wild blue yonder. For what stands out boldly, as Sir George Sansom points out in his foreword, is that Japan was primarily defeated by a sea blockade before strategic bombings were under way in force. Tactical air support, however,

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was invaluable in the development of the sea blockade. Allied strategic bombings were important in determining the time and submissive nature of the surrender rather than the fact. What of the role of the atom bomb? It is significant that Dr. Cohen does not even give it the passing comment of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey—that "the atom bomb was the exclamation point for the Potsdam declaration."

With a domestic economic base at best able to support only a short war against a major power, the wonder is not that Japan was beaten down, but that it was able to hold out as long as it did. At the peak Japan's munitions output was not more than 10 per cent of ours. Its coal and steel output was about one-thirteenth of ours. During the entire war Japan produced 65,000 military planes compared to the nearly 300,000 we produced. It went into the war with a food supply allowing a per capita caloric intake but 6 per cent above subsistence level.

From Professor Cohen's study these appear to have been the major economic reasons for Japan's defeat: effective submarine action, accentuating the inherently weak resources position of Japan proper; the ensuing air attack, which disrupted production; weak administration and planning, particularly in the early war years, which prevented the later notable productive performance of the Japanese from being more telling.

Dr. Cohen's dissection of the Occupation economy through 1948 is the most complete and detailed written to date. Unfortunately, it often lacks the consistency of the argument applied to the war period. Dr. Cohen rightly attacks the indecision that has characterized our proposals for reparations from Japan, from the relatively drastic Pauley Report of April, 1946, to the recent policy scrapping reparations until Japan recovers. He appears to favor the Pauley proposals over the later, more lenient ones. But if the crux of Japan's economic recovery lies in revival of its export trade—and Dr. Cohen's contention here is generally accepted—surely large-scale removals of the remaining operable productive capacity that claimant countries want would not reduce Japan's dependence upon American aid. Again, weakening of the Zaibatsu dissolution program is discussed merely in terms of Army-State Department differences; there is no mention of the influence upon these agencies' actions of powerful American business groups interested in Japan.

In his objective, carefully documented "New Paths for Japan" Harold Wakefield of the Royal Institute of International affairs covers the gamut of Japanese history and social problems. By far the most provocative and valuable parts of his book, however, are the chapters dealing with the war and the first twenty months of the Occupation.

Wakefield takes issue with Cohen's short-war thesis. He asserts, "The militarists' plan made no sense if they did not intend to use the raw materials acquired to expand their economic base for a long war or for further aggression." Yet the short-war idea, in argument, is not incompatible with Japan's desiring to hold on to its conquests for raw-material supplies, and the official statistics on war plans and performance cited by Dr. Cohen do not support Mr. Wakefield's position.

Wakefield's assessment of General MacArthur's administration is generally favorable. Despite defects in many of our reforms, he points out, much has been accomplished—enfranchisement of women, elimination of the worst agrarian abuses, the phenomenal growth of unions, and so forth.

His economic analysis is largely sound, but there are a few weak points. Wakefield's optimism regarding Japan's recapture of its former silk market in the United States merely by an exchange rate adjustment overlooks the real downward shift in the American consumer's demand for silk. His statement that "in the first year after defeat Japanese exports exceeded £40,000,000 [$160,000,000] and provided it with a favorable balance of £6,000,000" [$24,000,000] completely obscures the fact that United States economic aid to Japan has averaged about $350,000,000 annually since the end of the war.

What both Dr. Cohen's and Mr. Wakefield's studies add up to is this: In Japan we have a powerful economic engine that could work for the benefit of the Far East if it were properly cranked and directed. The Japanese, says Wakefield, need a goal, an incentive to call forth constructive and wholehearted national effort. He suggests admission to the United Nations as a reward for satisfactory effort. In any case, as Dr. Cohen emphasizes, what the United States must offer is a coordinated Far Eastern policy that insures Japan the economic viability necessary for its own and regional development, while at the same time insuring the controls needed to keep Japan from ever threatening the security of its neighbors. We cannot afford to create the historical irony of allowing Japan to achieve in defeat the economic and political domination of the Far East which it sought to achieve by victory.

ALFRED D. MORGAN

Argument about Democracy

PATTERNS OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT. By David Spitz. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

IN "Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought" Dr. Spitz has provided an able survey and critique of recent anti-democratic thought in America. He divides the field into those who argue the impossibiilty of democracy, like James Burnham and Lawrence Dennis, and those who argue its undesirability, like Ralph Adams Cram, Madison Grant, and Irving Babbitt. The bulk of the book consists of an exposition of the logic of the anti-democratic ideas, followed by an analysis so minute and exacting as often to constitute a rebuttal.

Dr. Spitz's book is written from the point of view of a political scientist interested in the architecture of ideas. Within these limits he has performed an intelligent and useful task. Some readers might wish that he had paid

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less attention to the logical inconsistencies and fallacies of anti-democratic thought and more to the circumstances which produce the critique of democracy and the extent to which it had influence—a story in which logic probably played a small part; but this would have been to expect him to do another job than the one he has discharged with such competence.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Books in Brief

PEACE OR PESTILENCE. By Theodor Rosebury. Whittlesey. $2.75. A sober, authoritative, and frightening account of BW (biological warfare)—its nature, problems, and probable effects; methods of production, attack, and defense; and suggestions for its prevention.

ELMTOWN'S YOUTH. By A. B. Hollingshead. Wiley. $5. A study of the *mores* and habits of 735 adolescents in a small Midwestern town, showing how directly the behavior pattern of the individual is dependent on the position of the family in the social structure of the community. Intelligently planned and lucidly presented; interesting to the layman, invaluable to the sociologist.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IN EUROPE. By Halvdan Koht. University of Pennsylvania. $3.74. A Norwegian historian surveys America's development during the last two centuries in terms of its impact on European life. Sound, sober, and of limited interest.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE power of performance is demonstrated by the Columbia recording of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 12 No. 1 for violin and piano played by Szigeti and Horszowski. I found the work boring when I listened to Heifetz's recorded performance a year or so ago; but this time its phrases have life and interest as they are inflected and shaped and articulated by these two fine musicians in a performance made exciting by its ensemble subtlety and finish. The 78 r.p.m. pressing (MX-312, $3.10)—apart from bad surfaces and off-center wavering pitch at the end of the slow movement—produces a number of the pinched and wiry high notes that one hears from Szigeti sometimes; but from the LP record (ML-4133) these notes come out undistorted and agreeable, and with welcome quiet from the surfaces. On the reverse side is the LP version of the earlier recording of Schubert's Sonatina Opus 137 No. 1, in which Szigeti's tone still has some of the brashness of the 78 version and Foldes's tone is dull, percussive, and made worse by obtrusive peaks. P. S. Treble must be greatly reduced for the Beethoven on LP.

The power of performance also was demonstrated once by Schnabel when he gave the rarely heard and strange Fantasia Opus 77 of Beethoven a convincing impressiveness it doesn't have in the performance Serkin has recorded for Columbia. With it Serkin has recorded one of the less frequently played sonatas, Opus 78, a beautiful work of which he gives one of his better performances—not, however, without occasional melting inflections and occasional banging. The banging sounds very clangy on the 78 r.p.m. records (MM-815, $4.15), which have very bad surfaces. The LP I haven't heard.

A work of Beethoven that I don't recall having heard before, the Serenade Opus 25 for flute, violin, and viola, has been recorded by John Wummer, Alexander Schneider, and Milton Katims. Much of it I find rather charming—which may again be a demonstration of the power of a superlative performance. The sound from the 78 r.p.m. pressing I heard (MM-839, $4.15) is sharp; the surfaces are not quiet; and the theme of the variation movement suffers from off-center wavering pitch.

Several hearings of Stravinsky's Concerto for two solo pianos haven't enabled me to perceive what makes it a concerto rather than a sonata—or a toccata, which is what I would call it. More important, I haven't heard anything—except the third variation in the third movement—that is interesting to listen to. Vronsky and Babin play it as though it were by Liszt; the performance is well reproduced, except for the clangy fortissimos, on 78 (MM-837, $4.15) and LP (ML-4157); surfaces of my 78 pressing are not quiet; and on the reverse side of the LP record is a group of little Russian pieces from the two-piano repertory of Vronsky and Babin.

The cloudiness that has been evident in George Amberg's small monographs is present on a vast scale in the endless gabble of his book "Ballet in America" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $6), and is only one of the manifestations of his lack of the intellectual and personal force that would show itself in the taste, the perception, the definiteness and precision of idea and statement, the mere factual accuracy which the writing doesn't have. There are some superb photographs, together with others that are poorly chosen.

Some of the material in Arnold L. Haskell's "Ballet Vignettes" (distributed in the United States by Irving Ravin, New York) —e.g., on Danilova, Riabouchinska, Toumanova, and Baronova—I have found interesting and perceptive; some of it—e.g., on Ballet Theater—quite poor.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD, JR., is associate professor of English at Harvard University and the author of "Robert Bridges" and "Joseph Conrad."

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Letters to the Editors

Honest Difference

Dear Sirs: In recent months I have talked to a great many *Nation* readers. Almost all have agreed that *The Nation* has made and is making a tragic error in treating the Israel question as a clear-cut, black and white issue. It is not. Many of us, who by no stretch of the imagination can be classified as stooges of the State Department or of the oil interests, have sifted the evidence and have come to the conclusion that the Arabs have a very good case. Many of Israel's acts during the truce periods as well as its policy toward the pathetic Arab refugees are clearly morally indefensible.

We do not object to *The Nation's* having come to a conclusion different from our own, but we do object to the presentation of the Israel case as infallibly correct.

RICHARD COTTAM

Salt Lake City, Utah, July 22

Uh-huh

Dear Sirs: With reference to Mr. Gillmor's article (Mechanical Brain Era, *The Nation*, July 16), I should like to comment that the author, in his all-out attempts at whimsicality and wry comments on the labor scene, apparently fails to recognize the fact that the skills of the national labor force will merely have to be reconstituted around the servicing and maintenance of the "mechanical brains." The solution is as easy as all that! It is therefore quite clear that Mr. Gillmor is

$$S\frac{N}{o}dN + \tfrac{1}{2}\frac{d}{du}(u^2) + E^T + \sqrt{S^2}$$

ALAN GREEN

Altadena, California, July 20

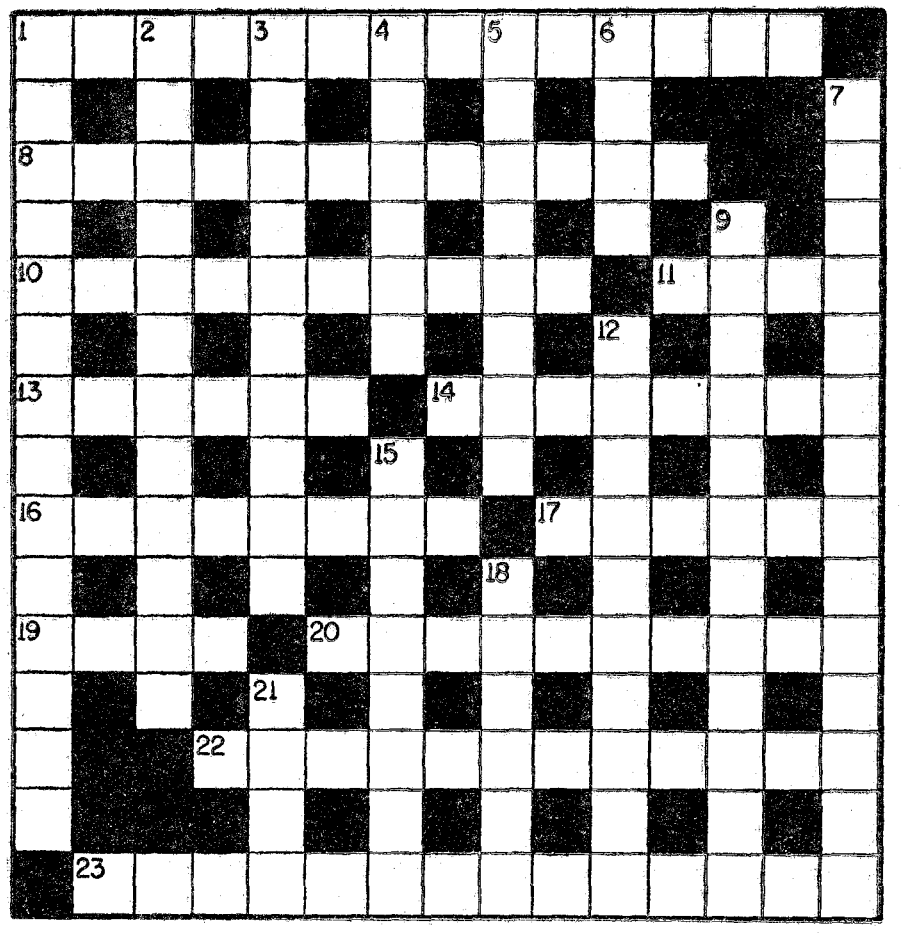
Overseas Aid

Dear Sirs: As a regular reader of *The Nation* and an admirer of your paper, I am writing to offer you my best wishes in the fight you are putting up against the reactionary educational authorities [in New York City]. Indeed it surprises me to learn that a body of men and women can call themselves educators and yet put a ban on the free interchange of ideas and ideals.

Let me, on behalf of a group of peo-

Crossword Puzzle No. 321

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Copper posts? (6, 8)
8 Spiral sail? (7-5)
10 Simple furniture? (4, 6)
11 Is Howard akin to Swift? (4)
13 Natives of New Zealand or Siam. (6)
14 Merry-maker, particularly of London. (8)
16 Mr. Legs, in bad spirits perhaps. (8)
17 Placed just before. (6)
19 Fervor shown by 13 above. (4)
20 Province where you might carry a dead language in your head. (10)
22 Frozen beef, perhaps! (4, 8)
23 Two-bit experts? (14)

DOWN

1 Periodical of the cosmetic trade? (6, 8)
2 Tall land-lubber? (12)
3 It's cold in China, hence the fur. (10)
4 Notable gesture. (6)
5 Bulls do! (8)
6 It's time for a change. (4)
7 Such concretions should show true polish. (8, 6)
9 Wet, cold, an' all lit up! (6, 6)
12 It quenches know-how. (10)
15 Remove the driver's seat. (8)
18 The chief seems to be holding the bag over the border. (6)
21 South African robe. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 320

ACROSS:—1 and 27 THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; 9 ORANGES; 10 POSTMAN; 11 BELIEF; 12 RECESSES; 14 TITTLES; 17 STAIR; 19 NUNNERY; 21 PUTATIVE; 23 STICKS; 25 CORSAIR; 26 HORATIO.

DOWN:— 1 TROMBONES; 2 EPAULET; 3 EGGBEATER; 4 LAST; 5 REPRESSING; 6 TASTE; 7 OSMOSIS; 8 ANTS; 13 BLANK VERSE; 15 REENTERED; 16 SHOESTORE; 18 and 15 across ATTAR OF ROSES; 20 YUCATAN; 21 PUCK; 22 TRAIN; 24 SHOE.

Solution No. 320 should have appeared in July 30 issue. Puzzle No. 327 was printed in mistaken order; its solution is printed below.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 327

ACROSS:—1 ADVENTURESOME; 10 ROUGE; 11 MALVOISIE; 12 GALATIANS; 13 NIECE; 14 DOUBLE-HEADER; 19 PRESENTATION; 22 RATIO; 24 TEMPORIZE; 25 LARGHETTO; 26 INURE; 27 ESTRANGEMENTS.

DOWN:—2 and 18 DOUBLE FEATURES; 3 ELECTRODE; 4 TIME AT BAT; 5 ROLLS; 6 SPOON; 7 MISLEADS; 8 DREGS; 9 REVELRY; 15 EXTEMPORE; 16 ECONOMIZE; 17 SPIRALS; 20 MINUIT; 21 SEVER; 23 OCHER; 24 TITAN.

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ple in this County of Dorset who read and value *The Nation*, assure you that you have all our sympathies and good wishes. We are supposed to be living in an age of enlightenment and progress, but the actions of the New York City Board of Education call up the ghosts of medieval fanaticism.

D. FRENCHMAN
Broadstone, Dorset, England, July 14

Second Civil War?

Dear Sirs: There has been a deluge of news stories, magazine articles, and exposes, which place the South before the rest of the nation for inspection and judgment. Most writers attempt to frame a solution by a fixed moral code. They are convinced that their solution can be enforced by federal laws, and they are completely wrong in this conviction.

In arriving at a compromise, we must recognize one simple fact. The white Southerner will not tolerate the end of racial segregation at this time. Failure of extremists to consider this fact places the very people they are trying to help in jeopardy of their lives. Contrary to the expectations of their friends in the North, the Southern Negro would make no attempt to take advantage of any federal legislation that attempted to end segregation. The latter would find adequate wages, housing, and educational facilities, of far more importance than the doubtful benefit of sitting next to a white man in a theater or restaurant.

The Negro has had the right to vote for many years. That it has often been denied him rests in large part on the shoulders of the Federal government for failure to properly enforce its laws. The inadequate law-enforcement facilities which often render small communities helpless against lawless gangs, does not necessarily mean that the majority of the citizens approve of such terrorism. Southerners are taking more and more steps to stop such atrocities as are perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan and similar gangster elements in the South. There is, at present, no serious opposition to Negro voting that would necessitate further federal legislation to this effect.

There remains the urgent need for legislation that will better the wages, hours, and conditions of both black and white laborers in the South. Unfortunately this legislation is tied in with measures attempting to end racial segregation.

The Southern politician who has become a national joke is no longer funny

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when he takes his seat in the Congress of the United States. Through Congressional seniority a considerable portion of the national affairs have become the private property of this political mountebank who represents only the business interests of his community and state. That he has many enemies and dissenters in his home district does not alarm him overmuch. He is an expert in rough and tough politics, and he has an invincible platform. Only on this platform does he truly represent his constituency. Every effort to end racial segregation only results in the return of his kind to the Congress of the United States.

Since the period of the Reconstruction, the Southern white man has acquired and been taught a set of beliefs in regard to the Negro. That some of these beliefs are ridiculous does not alter his faith in them. Members of the clergy along with men of science, could and should uproot this cultivated nonsense. Just recently I was quite seriously informed by a Southerner, who had studied for the ministry for four years, that God intended the Negro race to work in servitude to the white race. The authority quoted was the Holy Bible. Equally spurious scientific information regarding the Negro's mental capacities, sexual powers, etc., has wide acceptance in all parts of the nation. Yet certain groups would pass laws, would give a Negro the right to mingle freely with white men who firmly adhere to the aforementioned beliefs. Granted this right, the Negro could never exercise it with safety.

However, even people who sincerely believe in the inferiority of the Negro, have no desire to see him mistreated. Legislation that would better his standard of living can be passed if divorced from the issue of segregation.

All liberal-minded Americans should face the facts as they exist and exert every effort to break the present deadlock. It is compromise or nothing or . . . another civil war.

RUSSELL LYNNE HOLVENSTOT

Charleston, S. C., July 20

[For another point of view, see page 128 of this issue—EDITORS THE NATION]

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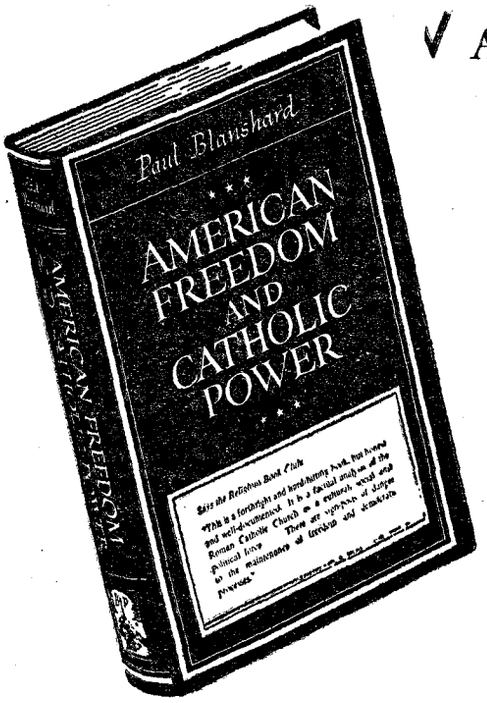

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